THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

June 19, 1948

DR. WONG'S PROGRAM

AN EDITORIAL

Students' Anti-US Demonstrations

C. Y. W. Meng

The Position Of Tibet

Shenchi Liu

Development Of Physical Education

Hsieh Ching-an

CONGRESS' SPRING FEVER

AN EDITORIAL

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

The Rural Question

To The Editor:

Apart from the questions of inflation, the hiking of commodity prices, the increase of production, and the termination of internal warfare, the fundamental question is purely agrarian.

It is not sufficient to talk about reform. Reform is too gradual; the whole agrarian question must be revolutionized. It is not suggested that we rob the rich to give to the poor, but some way must be found to liquidate the rural question whereby the peasant should pay only 15 percent as rent and taxes and lay aside another 15 percent as a sinking fund to purchase the land after a certain number of years. This would leave 70 percent for his own family maintenance, thus realizing the Sun Yat-sen principle of the tiller tilling his own land.

Landowners should not be forced to give up their holdings, but if they do so voluntarily, they should be compensated in kind or granted certain privileges, such as old-age pensions, widow's allowances, free education for their children, an allotment of seats to attend public trials, gallery seats at the open session of Parliament, and so forth. Gold, silver and brass metal awards could be given as Stabilization Medals for public services. Such could be some of the rights and privileges given by the State for the voluntary surrender of land. In any case, a limit should be set to the maximum individual or family agricultural land-holdings, except by co-operative associations; and some differentiation should be made between those who cultivate their holdings and those who do not.

First, we should enter into a Three Year Plan for rehabilitation and stabilization of rural districts, followed by a second Three Year Plan of industrialization. Thus, the rural districts would be the inner market for industrialized commodities, and their produce would feed the laborers. Only surpluses should go to foreign markets. We should supply ourselves before supplying others.

Further to help the newly installed tillers, district cooperatives should be formed. Each district should contribute 15 percent out of taxes levied on traders to set up associations for the purpose of purchasing and lending trucks for collective farming and supplying necessities for tillage. There should be a merger of small, separated plots.

Industrial towns should arise on top of a sound rural economy. The rural districts would feed the towns with food and, in return, would be supplied with manufactured commodities. Thus, they would become interchangeable markets.

If some such program could be conceived and implemented, there would be content and happiness in the land. Then another of Sun Yat-sen's principles of "universal love" would be fullfilled, and we could tuck our pillows high and sleep soundly, whether there be communism or no communism.

CHI YU.

Shanghai,
May 29, 1948.

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Index for June 19, 1948

Editorial Paragraphs

Dr. Wong's Program 73
Land Law Pitfall 74
Poor Old Kohlberg 74
Spring Fever Hits Congress 75
"Off The Record" 77

Special Articles

An Interpretation Of Students' Anti-US Demonstrations *C. Y. W. Meng* 78
Tibet's Position Regarding China And India ..... *Shenchi Liu* 81
Development Of Physical Education In China ..... *Hsieh Ching-an* 83

Economic Section

Week's Business 84
Quotations 84

Departments

Letters From The People 65
25 Years Ago 77
US Magazine Roundup 85
News Of The Week 86
What US Papers Say 88
What Chinese Papers Say 89
The Review's English Lesson XXXVI 90

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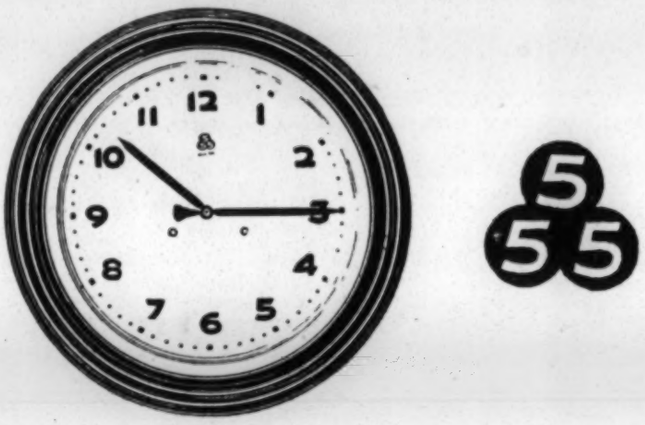

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Happy Taiwanese

To The Editor:

I am greatly surprised at the article "Unhappy Taiwanese" in the *Review* on April 17.

Although we Taiwanese are leading a worse life than we did under the Japanese, I think our standard of living is much higher than that of people living inland in China or even Japan. We know the most important reason for the lowering of our standard of living is the war, and the war was caused by the Japanese invasion.

Everybody knows Japan is a police-controlled country. We are free now. There are many Taiwanese holding high offices in the Taiwan government.

CHARLES IN.

Taipei, Taiwan
June 4, 1948.

Western Ideas

To The Editor:

Although China has stepped into the arena of constitutional government the majority of her people still remain illiterate. All the lao pai hsing hardly can write their own names, not to mention the names of the candidates for posts in the new cabinet. It is no wonder that so many liberals scorn the elections as only an official appointment. Under these circumstances, therefore, to try to seek democracy resembles "climbing a tree in search of fish."

The Chinese people have looked to the West for many ideas recently and the infusion of Western ideas was a great turning point in Chinese history. However, to our great disappointment, 36 years have now passed since the establishment of the Republic and what we have reformed is only our appearance and not our intrinsic spirit.

The students have learned about strikes, insubordination, free love and divorce; the officers and officials have studied methods of graft, corruption, bribery and inefficiency. Consequently, both the students and public functionaries misinterpret "liberty" and abuse "law and order."

Surely, we are convinced," as one Shanghai paper recently put it, "that China today has not secured the very kind of education she vitally needs. Foreign education and Western ideas are, however, fast undermining the cardinal virtues of Chinese domestic life."

HSU SHIH CHEN.

Kaifeng, Honan
June 5, 1948.

Watchful Waiting

To The Editor:

The recent political developments in Nanking have considerably annoyed the mind of a war sufferer. With the inauguration of the first constitutional cabinet, those who have successfully hunted a post now step to the fore with much pomp and grandeur and leave the disappointed few to be added to the list of patients in Shanghai waiting to be cured of their "political illness." There is no wonder to be found over such common occurrences in China's surging political sea.

But what does seem strange in the eyes of a homeless refugee is to witness the higher-ups in Nanking leisurely meeting for a discussion of the reorganization of the cabinet while our native town, Nanyang, is engaged in a bloody battle with the Communists. Outwardly, there is every manifestation of indifference to the sufferings of the people on the part of the government. Yet a spokesman might find reason to explain away this government's indifference by its ardent exertion in the work of salvation through its cabinet reorganization, and that only through

this reorganization can salvation work be accelerated.

Granting this to be true, as hundreds of my fellow countrymen die in a fatal war—the war that the ambitious for power and wealth wage—we survivors, while wandering homelessly in strange territories, will watch and see how faithfully these new government representatives carry out their duties. We hope that every fine promise may be implemented by deeds and remind them that a government is essentially for the people and should not prove itself a wolfish beast in sheep's clothing.

T. P. YANG.

Hanyang, Hupeh,
June 4, 1948.

Bookstall Readers

To The Editor:

In recent issues of your *Review* there have frequently appeared letter-writers who claim to be "enthusiastic" readers of your magazine and make a great fuss about discontinuing their subscriptions to the *Review* because of some change in their economic situation. They try to phrase pitiful words so as to get sympathy from you or other people in order to be helped to continue their subscriptions.

But they never seem to realize that there are just as "enthusiastic" readers who have never had the pleasure of reading the *Review* sitting at their own desks and who have to read it standing at the book-seller's under strict watch (like a thief).

Have you ever found these latter readers in your valuable letter columns making any complaints?

FU YEATSING.

Wuchang, Hupeh
May 30, 1948.

Cheaper Reviews?

To The Editor:

You are well aware of the fact that the subscription of your *Review* is too high for the average reader. Of course you are blameless. But in view of the fact that most of your readers, who are so faithful that they won't part with you, are eventually compelled to leave you simply because they are too poor I do think you might be good enough to do something for them.

Perhaps you could print copies of your *Review* with Chinese native-made paper for the purpose of lowering its price and thus enlarging your circulation. No doubt you might as well print copies on white, imported newsprint for your well off readers as usual. I cannot see any insurmountable difficulties confronting you in this matter. You are so quiet of late, would you bother to write a few lines about it?

FRANK C. K. CHEN.

Nanking,
June 7, 1948.

(We have often thought of printing the Review on Chinese made newsprint. However, each time we have considered this, subsequent investigation has shown us the inadvisability of so doing. In the first place, foreign newsprint has been falling in price, that is, in terms of blackmarket US dollars, which is what one must figure in since all imported newsprint comes from the so-called hard currency countries abroad. Secondly, Chinese newsprint is still of such a poor quality that it is doubtful if using it would result in any real economy in that it tears easily, is so imperfect that printing is often difficult to read, etc. If the quality of local newsprint improves a bit, we certainly will consider using it, both from the viewpoint of a small economy of operation, which we can pass along to readers in reduced prices, and also from the point of view of patronizing local industry.—Editor)

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Safe and Silent

To The Editor:

I read in your May 1st issue the letter on the student incident on April 9 in Chengtu by Li Hen, Dean of Studies of West China Union University. It is astonishing that Mr. Li described his letter as an "unbiased and verified" report.

I wonder why it should have been interesting to him that a student of the West China Union University intended to write a letter to your magazine. He sounded as if he were obliged to speak in favor of the governor. I wonder, too, why he left out the fact that the arrested students had their hands bound behind their backs until they were released, and that they were detained by the Provincial Government over 24 hours. Such a measure by Governor Wang Ling-chi was apparently against habeas corpus as laid down by the Central Government and is entirely contrary to Mr. Li's description of the governor as "apparently not desiring to live up to his reputation of using severe measures." I want to ask Mr. Li why the wounded girl whose condition was "no more severe than might be received from falling off a bicycle" should have been given penicillin treatment for a number of days.

Eleanor Roosevelt said, "It is always safe to be silent, but it is not right to be always safe." I would suggest that Mr. Li be silent when he wants to be safe. We can excuse a silent, brave man.

L. T. H.

Chengtu, Szechuen
May 27, 1948.

"Ist" And "Ism"

To The Editor:

I appreciate very much the main idea expressed in C.Y.W. Meng's article, "What Do We Expect of President Chiang?," that a real representative government must be established in which political freedom, economic equality and social security for all are guaranteed. However, I cannot agree with him on some points:

1. Mr. Meng said that a leader must have no leanings toward any "ism" and refuse to be an "ist," but must work solely for the welfare of the people in his country. Mr. Meng's error lies in his view that if one is an "ist" he can no longer serve his people. However, these two things are not incompatible. So long as the "ism" is for the benefit of the broad masses, there is no harm in one's being an "ist." Anyone in touch with political reality knows that it is almost impossible for a political leader to be free from any political leaning.

The example cited by Mr. Meng to support his view is not convincing. It does not show that President Roosevelt was not an "ist" and had no political leaning, but rather proves the opposite. Is not democracy a kind of "ism?"

I am of the opinion that China today needs less a leader who is above party, as Mr. Meng maintained, than a leader who could abandon his own selfish designs and really work for the welfare of the people and the benefit of his country regardless of his party affiliation.

2. Mr. Meng described half a dozen measures to deal with the Communist Party. Strictly speaking, these are steps which a constitutional government should take, rather than measures designed to cope with the Communists. What we lao pai hsing should do is make these two belligerent parties lay down their arms and settle their disputes by peaceful means. It will do us more harm than good to side with one party to suppress the other, and I am of the opinion that the Chinese Communist problem will never be settled by force of arms. Peaceful political means and a coalition government including all democratic parties will go a long way toward solving this problem.

3. Mr. Meng believes the first constitutional president should form the strongest and most powerful cabinet in the nation's history to tide over the national crisis, a cabinet composed of men who can really command the respect and confidence of the people, irrespective of party affiliations. While I don't deny the role played by heroes in history, the fact is that the decisive factor in historical development is not "men" but "system." Even a genius cannot work wonders within a system that hinders his development and renders him helpless. In a nutshell, not until a fundamental, profound change is made and a genuine democratic government really established will Chinese politics be able to run on the right track.

4. I sympathize wholeheartedly with Mr. Meng's hope that President Chiang will rise above party to act, not as a participant in, but an arbitrator of party disputes, and that, in the role of China's George Washington, he will lead us out of the morass we are in. But these good wishes, rosy as they might appear, are lacking any real foundation. It is President Chiang who has maintained most strongly that the KMT should fight the Communists to the bitter end, and that the CP must be eliminated. How can a partisan be expected to arbitrate, when the dispute between the KMT and the CP is the main issue? Moreover, as President Chiang has failed to lead us out of the deplorable situation in the past, there is faint hope that he can do more now as the first constitutional president of China.

ROBERT K. HSU.

Kaiping, Kwangtung
May 20, 1948.

Anti-Americanism

To The Editor:

In the past few days, the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* has published articles revealing some of the anti-American activities carried on by Chinese students. At the same time, the Shanghai American Consul-General, Mr. John M. Cabot, in a speech at the memorial service in honor of American war dead, rapped Chinese students for their anti-American demonstrations.

As a Chinese professor teaching in a Christian university, I regret to recognize the fact that anti-American sentiment among Chinese students is very strong. But, in addition to Mr. Cabot's assertion that this sentiment is the result of the "sinister propaganda of another tyranny," I would like to point out a few things which I think are the root causes of anti-American sentiment in China today and which Mr. Cabot and the *Post* editors have intentionally or unintentionally overlooked.

The anti-American feelings of Chinese students are not expressed toward the American people, but are directed towards the present American government and its policies. The Chinese people have always shown a very friendly attitude towards America. Reminiscences of good feelings towards America are not too old. During World War II, when President Roosevelt was still alive and was conducting his policy of international cooperation, Chinese youth had great respect, admiration and love for Ameriacn ideals and efforts. These good feelings were carried over to the days after the war. Chinese youths welcomed the American GI's when they came to Shanghai from the interior after V-J Day, and the general feeling towards Americans then was one of great friendliness and respect.

Yet after only these few years, the attitude of Chinese youth has changed completely. There are Americans who

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believe that the cause of this change is Communist propaganda. Probably the matter is not so simple. Traditionally, China is not a country easily accessible to Communist influence. The history of the 36 years of the Chinese Republic has given us sufficient evidence to prove that it is not easy for Chinese youth to accept Communistic ideas. If the anti-American sentiment of Chinese youth today is the direct consequence of Communist propaganda, then there must be simple facts sensible to human reason from which proceed Communist propaganda and anti-American demonstrations by Chinese students. To us, as is generally accepted by Chinese non-partisan intellectuals as well as youth, the imperialistic nature of the present American policy is the foundation of anti-American feelings in China today.

Following the death of President Roosevelt, the power of the American government has been shifted into the hands of mediocre politicians and military leaders, behind whom is the influence of a powerful group of top-level capitalists. Since then, its policy has been directed according to the selfish interests of that minority group at the expense of American and other peoples. Behind the beautiful language of upholding freedom and democracy, its aims are to seek markets, raw materials and large surplus profits and to find places for enormous capital investments. Side by side with this is its policy of political and military expansion on a world scale.

The present American policy towards Japan is a pattern of its overall expansion plan. And the Chinese people are especially sensitive towards the recent developments in Japan. They have not forgotten the destruction and suffering the Japanese militarists inflicted upon them.

It seems clear that the facts in Japan today run directly counter to Mr. Cabot's attempts to convince us that America is not reviving Japanese militarism. MacArthur's generosity towards war criminals; the open activities of fascist and terrorist organizations, the revival of all major industries, the connivance with Japanese capitalists in business plots, the actions taken to retain Japanese military strength under the guise of developing police forces, establishment of naval and air bases and many, many other things all have been glaringly in front of our eyes.

It is therefore fair to say that the anti-American activity of the Chinese students is not simply a matter of emotionalism and prejudice, nor the result of sinister propaganda of Communist tyranny. It is the natural sequence of present developments in world events, and the present policy of the United States Government has justified it.

T. C. CHAO.

Shanghai
June 2, 1948.

Ideas Confused

To The Editor:

I was much interested in your editorial in yesterday's issue of the *Review* on "Anti-U.S. Demonstration." I entirely agree with you that the thinking of most people, not only of students, is confused as to just what the American policy in Japan is and as to what it may mean for China. Entirely one-sided propaganda, however, the aim of which is to stir up the emotions of the students, hardly tends to clear up such confusion. This is what we have been treated to at St. John's.

But the question at issue with us is *not* one of freedom of speech or discussion; it is *not* one of political views—national or international; it is a question of whether or not we can have reasonable assurance of being able to continue our academic pursuits on the campus, in other words to attend to our

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own business. I do not believe that anyone in authority here would wish to deny any student freedom of speech or of political views. I believe that open forums, with two or more sides represented, would be considered all to the good. But no institution can run without a framework, no matter how simple, of regulations; I think everyone will be willing to grant that. Moreover, these regulations are worse than useless if they are defied as ours have been defied by a noisy and obstreperous minority.

We—and I believe that I may speak for most members of the faculty—should like to feel that our students are, for the time being, more interested in gaining a background of culture and an intellectual training that may help them to form unbiased opinions, than in here and now stirring up political agitation based on propaganda and doubtful information. Most of our students are so interested and have been trying to do their academic work as prescribed by the faculty and should be allowed to continue to do so.

MARY LAMBERTON.

St. John's University,
Shanghai
June 6, 1948.

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A Wolf Is A Wolf

To The Editor:

After past bitter experience everyone knows that the Japanese are a most treacherous and deceitful race. It is very easy to find examples. In the Tsing dynasty, after the Sino-Japanese war ended, the Japanese Government ordered a Japanese to threaten our representative Mr. Lee Hung-chang to sign the unequal treaties at the point of a pistol. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor without declaring war on the United States. It is not an exaggeration to give the same "wolf" to the Japanese.

Although Japan started the second World War and killed, directly and indirectly, thousands and thousands of men and women, and although all peace-loving people curse the Japanese invaders, yet our Allied friend the United States has not given Japan a fit punishment, and General MacArthur helps Japan to become an aggressive country in every respect. The US has adopted this policy for the purpose of making Japan her ally against the USSR.

However, a wolf is always a wolf, and even though it is now tamed the natural characteristics will not disappear. When the right opportunity comes, it will forget its master's kindness and attack its benefactor.

Today, under General MacArthur's generous control, the Japanese are tamed, but who can guarantee they will not forget their friend's help at a future date.

FAN KONG.

Wukang, Hunan
May 23, 1948.

Better Prepare

To The Editor:

It is beyond doubt that Japan is rapidly recovering under the auspices of the American Government. It is also beyond question that a reactionary Japan would be our potential enemy once she is set on her feet.

Far-sighted newsmen and students in this country have started a movement to warn the people and our government of this coming danger and to suggest doing something about it. Every Chinese, irrespective of his political views, should acknowledge the merit of this movement and back it wholeheartedly.

We are inclined to blame Uncle Sam for his selfish help-Japan policy. But Uncle Sam seems determined to push it without heeding our warnings and protests. The 20th century is a century of realism. No such high-sounding terms as justice, fairness, etc. can really explain the situation.

If only we understand the fact that the American situation in the Far East forces Uncle Sam to support a reactionary Japan, then we would not be surprised to see the American Government show such "leniency" to a former enemy. We can perhaps best understand the mind of Uncle Sam by reading the fol-

lowing lines quoted from an article in the March 22 issue of *Newsweek*:

"You may expect a fundamental change in US policy toward Japan. The basic orders under which General MacArthur has directed the occupation were drafted more than two years ago. The changing world picture, including Russian expansionism and the deteriorating situation in China and Korea, already has outdated them. As one official puts it: 'The problem then was how to hold Japan down. Now the problem is how to hold it up.' "

Evidently, Uncle Sam is a changed man, upon whom we cannot *always* rely. If we still remember the horror and devastation wrought on this country by the Japs, we should, in the quickest possible way, make ourselves strong enough to withstand any sudden attacks from whatever direction. The prerequisite to building a strong China is none other than to stop our civil war, or the so-called "bandit-suppression campaign," at once. The reason is too simple to warrant any explanation.

Some people may lightly dismiss this as idle thinking or old stuff. But I really don't see any other way out. A war-ravaged and weak China will always be an attractive prey for a "famished tiger"—Japan.

Our self-complacent government leaders preach that we must first annihilate the Communists, then.....But everybody doubts that the Communists can be annihilated.

Every patriotic Chinese should not allow himself to be carried away by rosy dreams of uniting this country by armed force. Unless the people can influence the hard-hearted KMT and CP to lay down their arms, we had better prepare for the worst.

C. K. TSAI.

Tsingtao
June 7, 1948.

Student Speaks

To The Editor:

As a student I would like to say something about the present student movement against US aid to Japan.

Obviously, America knows that help to China cannot prevent the growth of Communism and her own advantages in the Far Eastern market will become non-existent. So now China faces the great danger of Japan once more becoming a strong power. This fact is clearer day by day. Chinese students are unable to subdue their emotions against advising their own government and they must tell the whole world that American aid to Japan is not for the benefit of mankind or world peace. It is nothing but a desire to increase her own profits and position.

I can say that the average Chinese is anti-civil war and anti-suffering anywhere. They would not want relief from any country if there were no war here. However, China is in no position to use her own will in setting up a Monroe Doctrine, as did America before World War I.

Because of their unequal position in the world today, Chinese students show their deep feelings through their student movements. Our government refuses its sympathy, and its officials as well as the American ambassador say that the students must be influenced by Communists. Our Government uses high-handed methods in dealing with the students. Thus, the Communists can use this fact to spread their own influence among the demoralized students. There-

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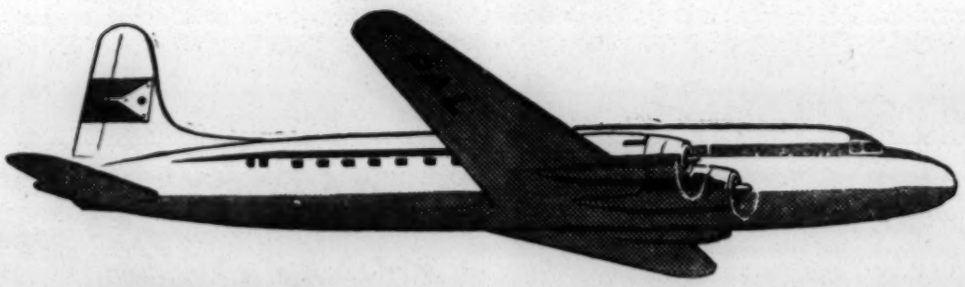

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fore, I wish that our government officials, as well as Dr. Stuart, would abandon this misunderstanding and take the advice of the students quickly.

FEI LIANG.

Wusih,
June 9, 1948.

Practical YMCA's

To The Editor:

The article entitled, "China Needs More YMCA's" in the *Review* of May 29 interested me very much. It is a fact that most, if not all, young people in China are losing heart under present conditions. What is left is either a life of aimless wandering or strict imprisonment. They want and must have proper activities as well as restrictions.

The YMCA has done much for the youth of the country. For many years it has helped them to enjoy a happy "social life" in conjunction with their dull "school life" or "business life." What is still more important is that it has been giving them a sense of being an essential and component part of this era. It is quite true that China needs more YMCA's, yet we should have something to say about what these new YMCA's should be made up of.

We hope tomorrow's YMCA will have more practical programs such as typing classes, classes on machinery and its uses, foreign language clubs, etc.—in addition to Bible class and Sunday School. We also hope, seeing what was wrong in the past, that it won't be an organization solely for the rich. It will do no good, no matter how many new ones are established, if they are not for all young people or if they fall wide of meeting the real needs of all young people.

China does need more YMCA's. Let her have more of them in the near future to do more things for more young people in a more effective way!

JACK R. BLACK.

Wuhu, Anhwei,
June 6, 1948.

Altruistic Work

To The Editor:

I was very impressed with the article entitled "China Needs More YMCA's" by Mr. Hsieh Ching-an in the May 29th issue of your *Review*. In China today there is a sharp contrast between China's fratricidal war and the YMCA's altruistic spirit. Chinese youths need both physical maintenance and spiritual comfort, but there is no charitable hand to help them.

During the war, the Chinese YMCA did much for students and refugees. One friend of mine, who was wandering in the streets of Kunming in 1941 on the verge of starvation, was taken in by the local YMCA, sent to middle school and later served in the Army.

Now things in China are more serious than during the war, and China's young men need the YMCA more than ever. Its lofty purpose, to establish a Christian society and mould the characters of young people in the spirit of Christ, is what young men are looking for. Those who might doubt whether the present new loan from America can accomplish much would never deny that the YMCA's efforts will make a deep impression.

I wish to become a member of the YMCA. Under its spiritual inspiration and guidance, I would become a loyal Christian and do as much for the welfare of mankind as possible. Will you give me the address of the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association in Shanghai?

SUN CHIE GANG.

Feyang, Chekiang
June 3, 1948.

Entrance Exams

To The Editor:

I have a few words to say about the condition of our middle school educational system.

As the summer vacation draws near, I am told in the newspapers that the entrance examinations for universities and colleges will take place next month.

While I continue studying in my middle school, I constantly think of going to a university. But when I think of the difficult problems involved in passing the mathematics, physics or English portions of the entrance examination or when I think of the many candidates one must vanquish in the struggle and the members of the "Youth Army" who will enter every university and college without having to take an examination, I am at a loss to see how I can make it.

I have already spent six years in middle school where our ideal was not the education of the mind or spirit but to obtain a "good mark" in every lesson. Our teachers only hope that all of us will pass the entrance examinations because they are thinking of the glory they can derive from having instructed "successful" students.

As I face the entrance examinations, I cry out with all my strength that our educational system be reformed.

D. W. LEE.

Nanking,
June 8, 1948.

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A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

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Vol. 110 Shanghai, Saturday, June 19, 1948 No. 3

Dr. Wong's Program

DR. Wong Wen-hao, China's new premier, outlined his plan for improving conditions at a special session of the Legislative Yuan last week. According to press accounts of his speech, the premier made a number of good points. However, he also skipped over a few key questions with the explanation that "plans" for this or that were being drawn up.

Dr. Wong's general outline indicates that he has put his finger on a lot of the country's ills. He undoubtedly is a good man for the job of premier. However, his predecessor, General Chang Chun, who entered office about a year ago, was hailed as a good man who understood the basic ills besetting the country and who could be counted upon to cure them. Will we be saying the same thing six months from now, or a year from now, as some new premier takes office?

The main trouble, it seems to us, is not with premiers. Generally they are all good men. Certainly, the country probably never had a better one as far as the modern qualities of business acumen, organizational ability, etc. were concerned than Dr. T. V. Soong. However, his cabinet, too, fell with a bang in the midst of a severe crisis. The premiers are good, their programs are generally good, but the methods of implementing them just simply do not bear fruit. Sometimes the methods employed are not too good, but usually the trouble is that each new premier has to fight an uphill battle against the same group of vested individuals and cliques that opposed his predecessor. These cliques, sometimes financial, sometimes political and sometimes military, give ground only when the whole structure of government appears on the verge of collapse. At this point all realize that something has to be done or all will hang, perhaps separately, but more likely all together. They then retreat a little, usually under the personal pressure of the Generalissimo, and a new premier and cabinet are installed. Sometimes, especially if the crisis is particularly severe, the new premier has a short honeymoon period. When the situation has eased a bit and one or two reforms, generally distasteful to the vested cliques, have been inaugurated, the opposition begins all over again.

This results in a series of seeming paradoxes in which announcements of reform are made in the capital, while the rankest sorts of abuse are perpetrated in the provinces. A recent example of this was General Ho Ying-chin's announcement, made immediately after he assumed office as Minister of War, to the effect that conditions in the Chinese Army were to be improved. He said troops would be fed and paid better and that army life would become more attractive. At almost the same moment, newspaper dispatches from Tientsin stated that the city was being terrorized by army press gangs which were moving through the city in trucks, grabbing coolies, beggars, messengers, shop clerks and others at gun point and carrying them off to the army.

A somewhat similar example of how good intentions expressed in the capital turn out in practice was the case of the Chinese Army's "Be Kind To The People Month." Military authorities in Nanking, realizing the substantial support the Chinese Communist troops have been getting from the disaffected peasantry in many areas, launched a "be kind" campaign devised to bring the people and the troops closer together. The immediate reaction from the countryside was in the form of reports of troops carrying out extra special levies upon the people—at gun point—in order to finance the forthcoming "Be Kind To The People Month."

Dr. Wong Wen-hao has listed several aims, including improvement of treatment of troops, reduction of the Government's civilian budget, erection of bases in South China, additional and regularized taxes levied against those most able to pay so that the burden will not fall entirely upon the countryside, increased foreign trade, proper use of American aid, and so on. This is all very well and we believe that Dr. Wong will honestly and efficiently attempt to do all these things.

However, a great big "IF" in the whole program appears in the form of whether or not the various cliques whose toes will be trod upon by such reforms will allow him to carry them out. Dr. Wong can improve the treatment of troops *if* greedy officers who normally squeeze the troops' rations and pay will let him, *if* army commanders whose personal power depends upon the size of their armies will relinquish their commands so that their troops may be reduced in number and amalgamated with other armies. Dr. Wong may be able to reduce the Government's non-military budget *if* the various bureaucratic cliques who control sections of party and government machinery will permit staff reductions, bureau amalgamations, etc. Dr. Wong may be able to increase foreign trade (exports) *if* Chinese shipping companies will put more ships into service, *if* port authorities will cut down red tape, pilfering, damage, etc. and *if* exporters and other businessmen will cooperate in trying to get the goods out instead of working interest rackets and engaging in other forms of speculation and

if Dr. Wong's own appropriate cabinet members can devise an improved export promotion scheme. Dr. Wong may succeed in getting American aid properly used *if* the various cliques which took their toll of squeeze out of UNRRA can be persuaded to leave the new aid program alone.

It would be foolish to expect that the new premier can do all these things. However, if he accomplishes only a few of his announced intentions, he may well make an important contribution toward the improvement of the Government's economic, political and military situation before the pressure groups force him out and a new premier takes over the job.

Land Law Pitfall

THE current suit filed by the American-owned Standard-Vacuum Oil Company against Fan Shou-cheng, a retired Nationalist general, is a good example of some of the difficulties foreigners may face in buying property under the Central Government's Land Laws.

The dispute in question, while not of major importance in that the value of the property involved is small, is of concern to both foreigners and Chinese who have or may have land dealings.

According to the Standard Oil Company's contention, it paid General Fan a lump sum in cash totaling CNC$4,230,000,000 in November of last year for a piece of land of slightly more than three mow, with some buildings on it. General Fan, the Company charges, agreed at the time of the sale to jointly apply to the Shanghai City Government for the transfer of ownership. This he has not done, says the Company, so that the current situation is that General Fan has both the money and the property. Standard Oil is suing General Fan for losses they have sustained.

General Fan, meanwhile, has answered the Company's contention with a claim that he has abided by the existing law in that since the transaction between the two parties *previously* had not been approved by the City Government, the sale could not go through and he had no obligation to carry out his part of the agreement between Standard Oil and himself. He offered to return the Company's money.

* * *

SINCE we are not a legally constituted court, we obviously are in no position to pontificate upon the merits of this particular case. Perhaps following final settlement, we may be in a position to express our personal views regarding the handling of the case by the local courts. At press time it was reported that the Shanghai District Court had found in favor of the Oil Company. It is not known whether an appeal will be filed.

However, in our opinion this case does serve to bring to public attention the need for some clarification of present Chinese land laws and regulations as they pertain to foreigners. It is understandable that the Chinese should feel quite touchy on the subject of foreign ownership of land. Having so recently rid themselves of the obnoxious extraterritorial treaties, which often were abused by both Chinese and foreigners in matters of land ownership, the Chinese naturally are bound to view foreign land holdings with a critical eye.

This is perfectly reasonable if close scrutiny and careful regulations are designed to prevent false registration of property. In prewar days it was not uncommon for wealthy Chinese to hide real estate holdings in the names of foreign friends or accomplices as a method of evading taxation.

However, if the land regulations applying to foreigners are so involved and set about with technicalities that every foreigner purchasing land becomes subject to all sorts of misunderstandings and possible court involvement, the law is far from perfect.

For example, suppose we arbitrarily arrive at a hypothetical solution to the present case of the Standard Oil Company and General Fan. Suppose that that the argument were settled, either in court or out of it, with an agreement that the defendant return the complainant's money. CNC$4,230,000,000 was worth nearly US$50,000 in November of last year, the time the money was paid. Today, what is the US equivalent? It is less than half as much as it was seven months ago. If, to avoid such a penalty against the complainant, the court or the litigants themselves attempt to compensate for the inflation, what basis can be used for computation? The blackmarket rate, the open market rate, the new export-import rate?

It seems to us that a good, clear definition of the land regulations for foreigners is needed. The decision should be made either by the courts or by the appropriate Chinese legislative officials. Until such time as this is done, foreigners must be very wary of buying or selling any real estate. Likewise, Chinese must exercise extreme care in dealing with foreigners. Either party is open to serious loss, fraud or expensive court proceedings.

Poor Old Kohlberg

ALFRED Kohlberg, one of the better known communist witch hunters in America, is at it again. According to latest press reports from Washington, Kohlberg demanded before a Senate appropriations committee that Roger Lapham be recalled as China Aid Director and replaced by an "anti-communist." Kohlberg was mainly unhappy because Lapham knew nothing about China and would therefore be forced to rely upon US State Department personnel in China, whom, it was implied, Kohlberg considered incompetent because they, too, were not sufficiently anti-communist.

The part of the story we enjoyed most said that as Kohlberg finished his testimony, only three of the 15 members remained to hear his charges. He was not cross examined nor was he asked to substantiate his charges. This apparently indi-

cates a complete lack of interest in what he was saying, which is one of the worst things we can imagine happening to the very vocal Mr. Kohlberg.

* * *

KOHLBERG endeared himself to us some time ago by going around telling people that we were a bunch of communists. Actually, he has been more cautious in his writings since the Red cap is now considered libelous by American courts, unless, of course, the accuser can prove such charges. For this reason, we presume, Kohlberg has flitted around the edges of libel in his remarks about us. However, his comments upon the *Review* certainly do convey by strong implication that he thinks we are on the communist bandwagon. Like all people who try primarily to prove their point, rather than to ascertain the truth, Kohlberg frequently works with words in a strange manner, quoting what suits his purpose and conveniently omitting matter which might not strengthen his premise.

This is the pattern he has followed in his treatment of the *Review*, the *Shanghai Evening Post* and the United States Information Service. His last public attack in writing was a couple of months ago, when he sent a circular letter to American editors denouncing the three aforementioned organizations. Among the things he listed as not liking about the *Review* were some of the people who wrote for us. He picked Philip Jaffe, former editor of *Amerasia* and the author of several outstanding books on the Far East, and described him as being well known for his connection with the Amerasia Espionage Case, as Kohlberg called it. This was an example of the convenient "smear" technique employed by many different elements.

Kohlberg went through one issue of the *Review* and, with an assumed voice of authority, solemnly "told" American editors that the results of his hedge-hopping were typical examples of what normally appeared. This in itself was untrue since his examples, titles, etc. cited did not even constitute one half of that particular issue. It should be obvious to anyone that you can't pick up at random one of 52 issues of a magazine, carefully select a few articles or quotes and then say, "this is typical."

The more we thought about our treatment at the hands of Kohlberg, the more irritated we became. We don't mind what people say about us as long as they stick to the truth or as long as they honestly and intelligently take issue with us on one subject or another. That is to be expected and we enjoy such arguments. However, we do not like people going around behind our backs pouring out their bitterness in the form of broadcast bulletins filled with nasty insinuations, half truths and flat lies.

Perhaps the thing which irritated us most about Kohlberg's tirade was that he doesn't even subscribe to the *Review*. If we were getting a yearly subscription fee out of him, we might feel that as one of our regular readers he was entitled to an opinion, but it baffles us to know how a guy can pose as an authority on a magazine he doesn't even read!

Spring Fever Hits Congress

THE American Congress, whose members are democratically elected by a free vote of all citizens 21 years old or older, often does strange things, things which are especially difficult to understand abroad. Press dispatches from Washington during the last week have made rather disconcerting reading. Congress, getting anxious for summer vacation during which political fences at home will be mended by many members who must stand for re-election this fall, has been ignoring a great deal of necessary legislation and engaging in a considerable amount of straight political maneuvering with little regard to the legitimate needs of the business at hand.

Being proper Democrats, we naturally blame part of this on the fact that Congress is dominated by the Republicans, and hope that the Democrats may pick up a few seats, especially in the Senate where the Republican majority is narrowest, this fall. This, undoubtedly, would improve matters a bit. However, we must admit that any Congress makes a comparatively poor showing at this season of the year.

The main reason for this is the desire upon the part of all legislators to get the session over and return to their native places to investigate conditions, talk to friends and political associates, plan political strategy for their respective parties in the next local and national elections, make political speeches to constituents and to rest after their usual hard work in Washington.

A Congressman needs this summer vacation very badly from a political point of view. He spends most of his time away from his native state and unless he comes back each summer and at other odd opportunities and makes speeches, shakes hands and keeps himself abreast of local thinking, he may lose touch with the people who elected him to office and may not be re-elected when his term expires. This is a very good possibility since there are always many competitors for his job, both in the opposition party and in his own. His opponents, of course, generally have the advantage of being at home most of the time and can officially and unofficially campaign constantly before the electorate. The Congressman, busy in Washington with national and international affairs, must ignore the political situation in his native place for a great part of each year. Therefore, the summer season is his best opportunity to make up for lost time. For this reason he is always anxious to see Congress adjourn in the spring so he can have as much time at home as possible.

The average Congressman begins to think of home and politics in the spring, and very often a lot of the seemingly strange things he does or says during the last days of the session can better be understood if one realizes that his attention is gradually shifting from international

and national affairs to partisan and local political matters.

For instance, a Congressman who all session has fought for various pieces of national legislation which he believes to be in the public interest and who has thereby gained some national or international stature as a forward or at least active member of Congress, will in the spring months frequently lose interest in such matters. He will begin introducing or supporting measures which are purely political in nature. He may, for example, suddenly bring before Congress a measure to build some federal institution in his native state or district, the idea being that such construction will create jobs and local prosperity among his constituents. Frequently he will introduce such "pork barrel" type legislation knowing full well that it will not be passed. He merely wants to be on record as favoring such "plums" for his electorate. Even if they don't get it, he can go before the people who elected him and say that he did his best, but that Congress turned him down.

It is also at this time that each Congressman begins thinking of the various local desires, prejudices and feelings of his constituents and opposes or supports legislation because he well knows that the people back home remember recent things best. He may have shown no opposition to a plan for admitting more aliens into the United States because he personally had no strong feelings against the idea and may have privately told his colleagues that he would not oppose it and would try to be absent when a vote came. However, if he comes from a section of the country where local prejudice runs against foreigners, he may well get up in the Senate or House of Representatives and deliver himself of a strong speech opposing the measure, especially if it comes up at the end of the session.

* * *

VIEWED in the light of partisan politics, some of the antics in Congress during the last couple of weeks are a little more intelligible. The House of Representatives' last minute move to slash the Economic Cooperation Act by about US$1,000,000,000 is largely, in our view, the result of the spring season, although the House's republican-dominated appropriations committee has been notoriously economy minded all year.

The complete lack of logic in the statements of Representative John Taber was illuminating, as was the method in which the House reduced the funds. The basis of ECA was laid a year ago by General Marshall in his famed speech during which he outlined what later became known as the Marshall Plan. State Department experts formulated the plan. Competent personnel from other US Government organizations studied and amended it. Representatives of 16 foreign nations met and discussed and recommended. Finally both houses of Congress went over it and eventually it was passed.

Following this it was only necessary for Congress to approve legislation appropriating the money to finance what had already been agreed upon. At this point the House Appropriations Committee began to make new recommendations. A few specific things were objected to and no money voted for them. However, the Committee gave itself away by arbitrarily lengthening the time limit from 12 to 15 months. This in itself was a serious cut in that it made the ECA Administration reduce its already scheduled rate of spending. The Committee could not object to the ECA in theory since the House had already approved it. If it objected to some specific projects, it could have eliminated them. However, it chose to limit each project, or pass the burden of skipping some to the ECA Administration, by simply lengthening the period over which the money was to be spent.

Taber's remarks made after the cut was effected strike us as not being very pertinent. However, they will sound well to a lot of Americans, since most of us approve in general of economy and heartily disapprove of any laxity in the handling of public monies. While there is as yet no proof of boondogling in the plans for ECA, Mr. Taber implied there was. He said, with a fine choice of words, "I will fight to the end to retain this reduction in the Bill and resist all the special pressures which are being mustered to make a treacherous raid on the American taxpayer."

"Special pressures" and "treacherous raid" are good political expressions and if you are against them you will always get applause from the politically naive who have a firm belief that you have to watch the administration like a hawk or it will steal you blind.

Taber went on to say that the Aid Bill had become a test of whether the American people would support legislation based on facts and constitutional government, or whether they wanted billions of dollars of tax money appropriated by hearsay and emotion. Actually these words have little to do with the situation at hand. Obviously, if in a speech an orator asked his listeners if they wanted such a dire thing to happen to the public money, they would shout back in the negative. The fact that they are just words and do not have any application to the ECA funds bill is confusion and, unfortunately, many voters will be confused, too.

If Taber's Committee had carefully gone through the ECA and cut funds to the tune of US$1,000,000,000 from various specific projects, they might have made a case for themselves, even though others might not agree with it. However, the Committee didn't have time since adjournment is getting near. It seems likely now, from the tenor of discussion in the Senate which must approve the House action, that the cuts will not be sustained and that some compromise will have to be reached.

A few other acts of Congress, also along economy lines, emphasize the effects of Spring Fever in Washington. This Congress, although rather economy minded as Congresses go, has been spending the taxpayers' money pretty fast all year. However, Taber's same House Appro-

priations Committee angrily accused David Lilienthal's Atomic Energy Commission of "general extravagance." Another very unspecific charge which actually doesn't get down to facts at all.

The Commission's budget was sliced by US$48,150,000, but warned not to reduce any of its expenditures for military matters. The Committee apparently doesn't want to lay itself open to a possible future charge, in event of war, that it was its fault that America wasn't prepared. This is a lesson learned by many members of Congress who refused to appropriate money for the defense of Guam and other Pacific Islands just before Pearl Harbor. Instead, Lilienthal was ordered to cut down on expenses for "non-weapon, non-biological, non-medical" phases of its work. All of the exceptions are of course very important, but another possibility of atomic energy—perhaps the one holding the greatest long-term promise for mankind—is the development of atomic energy for industrial uses.

Another last minute economy move was directed at public housing, which is certainly one of the country's most urgent needs. The time is short and the House Appropriations Committee can't be bothered with a systematic study to see if Government expenses can be reduced logically without doing more harm than good. The important thing is economy, even if such economy results in postponing the day of push-buttom atomic power for another year or two past the already estimated 10 years hence date.

* * *

EACH year at this season we could cheerfully wring a few Congressional necks, but we suppose that the springtime antics of the Washington legislators are part of the price we pay for democracy. Congressmen may play politics, may attempt to push through various pork barrel measures and in other ways operate in a fashion which cannot be construed as being exactly in the public good, but at least we can still elect them, re-elect them and, if they are unsatisfactory we can, although sometimes with difficulty, get them out of office. At least we can still say what we want about them, which is worth quite a bit in itself.

"Off The Record"

WE were treated to a series of speeches the other night at a dinner given by the local American Chamber of Commerce for Mr. Roger Lapham and Mr. Charles Stillman, chief of the China Aid Mission and head of the China Survey Mission, respectively.

The two aforementioned gentlemen, as well as Mr. C. V. Schelke, president of the Chamber, spoke. We cannot tell our readers what was said because, after luring us there with an inviting prospectus and lulling us with good food, the Chamber announced that it was all "off the record."

We will make one comment, though, and that is, with the value of hindsight, the Chamber would have been well advised if it had changed the order of speaking a bit. Instead of having President Schelke, a very able man who has put his finger on many of China's ills, make an all too brief introductory speech for Stillman and Lapham, they should have had Stillman and Lapham make *very* brief introductory speeches for Mr. Schelke.

25 Years Ago In *The Weekly Review*

Changsha Riot

June 16, 1923.

A few weeks ago the report became current that a mob of boycotters including students boarded a Japanese vessel at Changsha which was preparing to land goods in that city. A riot followed in which physical injuries were sustained by both Chinese and Japanese participants. No one can claim that Japan has the right to force its goods upon unwilling Chinese buyers. But neither can it be asserted with any degree of truth or justice that the Chinese of any class.... have a right to board a Japanese mercantile ship in Chinese waters, or to attack it.....while it lies at the wharf..... China's friends sympathize with her in her difficulties, and a good deal of admiration has been aroused by the patriotism evinced in the Student Movement. But such incidents as those in Changsha are likely to stir up neither sympathy nor admiration. Justice cannot be attained by unjustice, nor can law and order be brought about by rioting and the breaking of law.

* * *

Storm Clouds

The storm clouds are gathering in China now, and those in the storm area would be extremely unwise to fail to prepare for any eventualities.....May the powers consider the China problem as they never have considered it before; may they realize the significance to the world of letting a country the home of four hundred million people drift further into disintegration and chaos, as outlaws and corrupt militarists seize the powers which functionaries of a representative government no longer can exercise.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

All-Time Low

June 18, 1938.

When a proprietor of a store well-stocked with merchandise tells you that if you insist upon buying, he will sell, but he'd rather keep his goods—that is news! Such was the anomalous situation faced by the Shanghai merchant and customer alike in the past fortnight.....The reason was the steady and history-making decline in the value of the Chinese national dollar....One June 11, Chinese currency hit a new, all-time low. Street exchange shops were offering $6.10 for US currency, and on June 13, banks were selling gold dollars at $6.06.

* * *

Those Were The Days

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: "The whole nation is solidly united as it never has been before. Evidence of unity may be seen everywhere. It is more particularly conspicuous in the occupied areas, where the Japanese have succeeded only in getting bandits and discredited politicians to set up puppet organizations for them. As to righteously minded people, even those who were formerly dissatisfied with the Kuomintang are one and all supporting the National Government and taking part in armed resistance and opposition to spurious regimes."

AN INTERPRETATION OF STUDENTS' ANTI-US DEMONSTRATIONS

C. Y. W. Meng

IN February of this year, as many Shanghailanders can certainly still remember, there was a huge Chinese students' demonstration similar to the one that took place on the afternoon of June 5 in protest against the present American "Aid-to-Japan Policy." In February, the Chinese students rose to protest the action of the Hongkong Government in forcibly evicting the Chinese squatters in the walled city of Kowloon. That demonstration was also called the "Anti-British Demonstration." It, as well, was said to have been incited by the Chinese communists, etc.

After the February parade was over, I took a walk along the Bund in Shanghai, from one end to the other, and read every poster and every word written with tar on the walls. When I reached the Chinese bank buildings, to my surprise I found such things as "Down with the Bureaucratic Capitalists" and other similar posters.

Such incidents may not have been noticed by many observers. My impression is that underneath the February demonstration, which started with opposition against the Hongkong Government's arbitrary action in Kowloon, was an expression of the popular wrath and smoldering discontent over the present state of affairs in this country, political as well as economic. The "Kowloon Incident" provided the spark, but the tinder was there already. I believe this same situation is true of the June demonstration in protest against Uncle Sam's policy in Japan. Let us not try to cheat ourselves, but be frank and speak out. Any competent observer in China can easily observe that popular discontent and opposition do exist among the Chinese people.

Smoldering Discontent

Needless to say, these years since VJ-Day have been years of bewilderment and despair to the Chinese people. Our life has become much harder than it was during the war years. The bloody "Fratricidal War" is now being waged most intensively without any prospect of being ended in the near future. Our people know that so long as the civil war lasts inflation will continue, price will soar further, and our sufferings will last indefinitely.

The Chinese people live in hope of a *better* year, but that year is not at hand. The people hope for a *change*—some sweeping change—in our life and in our institutions, but no such change has come about. The people hope for a *new* government, but no new government has come into existence despite the reshuffle of the cabinet in the past.

While a few rich people in the country are getting richer than ever, the masses are suffering from poverty, hunger and neglect. The rich are now fleeing to evade the "Soak-the-Rich Tax," while every street corner in any city is crowded with the poor, the starved, the sick, the aged and the homeless refugees —men, women and children. We often hear people comment, "That is the result of the civil war," pointing to those miserables passing by.

It seems to us that this popular wrath and smoldering discontent must be getting more serious and noticeable since the people are not even satisfied with the formation of the Wong Wen-hao cabinet following the convocation of the National Assembly. In a leading article on "The Wong Wen-hao Cabinet," Professor Hsu An-ping, editor of *The Observer*, whose motto is "Nonpartisan and Impartial" and which is now generally ranked as one of the leading independent and liberal weekly magazines in Shanghai, expressed his surprise that the "bottle" of the "new" cabinet is filled with the usual "old wine." "That a new premier has actually brought in more than 90 percent of old cabinet ministers is something which we have rarely seen before," said the editor. (See *The Observer*, June 5, 1948.)

In Nanking the same resentment prevails. A group of professors was reported to have held a forum on the campus of the Nanking University to discuss two timely problems: The new cabinet and the American aid-to-Japan policy. One professor, Professor Liu Pu-tung, concurrently Councillor of the Legislative Yuan, said that "we have already given them (meaning those cabinet ministers now under the Wong Wen-hao administration) a chance to prove themselves during the past 20 years, or at least in the last five or six years. But what they have given us is not a blessing but suffering. For this reason, I am entertaining no extravagant hope for the Wong Wen-hao cabinet."

Another professor, Yi Ching-yuan, opined that in forming the new cabinet this time the Government "has disregarded public opinion." He believed that the Government "has lost a chance to bring about a reform," and that it will eventually feel the consequences. (For an account of the discussion, see *Ta Kung Pao*, June 7, 1948.)

To sum up, as explained in an editorial on "The Same China" in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "The meeting of the National Assembly in Nanking has produced no real change in the picture in China." It was at this time that the June demonstration took place.

There are many liberal and progressive citizens in China today who are most eager for peace in order to go on with the reconstruction of the country, and for change in order to go on with reform. These people are also hoping for the speedy settlement of American-Soviet differences, for a stronger UNO, and for the preservation of world peace.

But these people are very much disappointed. They have no peace at home. They see American-Soviet tension mounting day by day. They have studied things American, and have found many of them to be by no means satisfactory.

Liberals Vs. Conservatives

In my survey "Whither Sino-American Relations?" I pointed out the following fact:

> "So far as the Chinese and American liberals are concerned, they are getting on remarkably well. The conservatives are in power in both countries. Therefore, so far as the Chinese Government and the American Government are concerned, they should also get along well. But the ideas of the American Government and the Chinese liberals do not concur.....Therefore, it looks as if there is an anti-American resentment among the Chinese people. But the truth is that there is quite a wide gap between the Chinese liberals and the American conservatives. Viewed from this aspect our relations are far from satisfactory. (See *The Review*, November 29, 1947, p. 413.)

This conclusion which I reached a year ago may explain somewhat the background of the June demonstration.

But the gap between the American Government and the Chinese liberals seems to have widened since the recent exchange of the "Smith-Molotov Notes" on May 4. The Chinese could not understand why Secretary of State George C. Marshall should have replied to the Soviet reply with a plain "No." There is not the slightest doubt that Ambassador Smith must have been instructed by the State Department to inform Molotov that "as far as the United States is concerned, the door always remains open for a discussion and settlement of our differences." Logically, this should have been followed by discussions of procedure and problems. But instead, everything was turned down, and a "divided Germany" has come into existence. Many European socialists have already expressed their opposition to the London Agreement.

On the other hand, I believe it was the publication of Mr. Henry A. Wallace's "Open Letter to Stalin" that caused some students in St. John's University in Shanghai to urge the American people to unite under the Wallace banner to uphold FDR's "Four Freedoms," and

to promote Wendell Wilkie's "One World."

No Ax To Grind

In fact, in the American-Soviet duel, the Chinese have no ax to grind. But what the Chinese liberals do believe is that *world peace must be based on cooperation.* They believe implicitly what was said by the American statesman, Sumner Welles, that "in the first postwar years, the two greatest powers, both from a material and military standpoint, will be the United States and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Upon the desire and the capacity of these two peoples to work together will depend the maintenance of the world peace and the progress of humanity." In wishing for an early settlement of American-Soviet differences, we Chinese are animated by no other motive than our genuine desire to preserve the wartime Big-Power Unity. Without this unity, there will be no peace in this world.

Another factor which should be taken into consideration is the present mentality of the Chinese people. In another article, I said.

I was in Chungking throughout the eight war years, and every July 4th I could observe that many Chinese felt just as jubilant as the Americans. "Meikuojen" (the American people) were most popular even among the Chinese country folk in rural districts. Common talk among the Chinese on that day was of the gigantic American army and production and "America—indeed, a Land of Plenty."

The Chinese were full of admiration for things American. Many considered the Declaration of Independence "a beacon for all mankind," and the Statute of Liberty not just a symbol for the Americans alone, but a sign of hope for all little people still shackled in the chains of political tyranny.

In this year's July 4th (1946) celebration in Shanghai, however, I noted that many of my countrymen marked the same happy occasion but with somewhat mixed feelings of joy and worry, admiration and a great anxiety over the future—the future of Sino-American relations as well as the World of Tomorrow: One World, Two Worlds or None. The most common talk among many Chinese on that day was no longer of the American army and production, but "What is the American policy in China today?" and "What are they (American marines) really intending and planning to do here?" (see *The Review*, August 3, 1946, p. 224.)

This question still occupies the Chinese mind today. The Chinese know well that the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union is as mighty a saboteur of peace in China as is the deep-seated hatred and jealousy, fear and suspicion between the rival Chinese factions. When two great powers are divided into hostile camps, the reactionaries and the extremists grow irreconcilable toward each other and wreck all plans of making peace.

For this reason, the Chinese people hope very much that both powers will "quit" China, and that both will refrain from meddling in Chinese politics. The Chinese people never like to see *any* foreign soldier or marine on Chinese soil, and *any* foreign gunboat in Chinese waters. They look upon both the Soviet army in Dairen and the "AAG" in other parts of China with the same degree of disgust.

Many Chinese people know that under the Truman Administration the United States has assumed the role of champion against communism in the world. For the sake of combating communism, the United States is willing to disregard its own Constitution to the point of imposing various restrictions on the civil liberties of its people, even to a point bordering on a police state. The United States is even willing to ally itself with former enemies and reactionary cliques. But this policy of "Polarization of the Rightists" has come into direct clash with the Chinese liberals.

Inevitably, this arouses the Chinese fear of a revived militarized Japan, which brings up an old but important question in the Chinese mind: "Who Arms Japan?" This also recalls to many Chinese the facts expressed in the following:

"The United States is by far the most important exporter of arms, aircraft and war materials to Japan, supplying 54.54 percent of Japan's imports in 1937, and 56 percent in 1938. The second largest exporter is the British Empire which supplied 22.33 percent in 1937, and 20.69 percent in 1938. The third is the Dutch East Indies, which supplied 9.35 percent in 1937 and 8.62 percent in 1938.

"Thus, in 1937, Japan obtained 86.22 percent of her war materials from the United States, the British Empire and the Dutch East Indies, and 85.31 percent in 1938." (See *Who Arms Japan*, published by The Union of Democratic Control, 34, Victoria Street, London, S.W.I.)

Before Pearl Harbor

Many Chinese still remember the letter of inquiry which Col. Henry Stimson wrote during the early part of the Sino-Japanese War to the editor of *New York Times*, in which the former Secretary of War pointed out that "the first glaring fact is that China's principal need is not that something should be done by outside nations to help her but that outside nations should cease helping her enemy." (This letter was reproduced in *The Review*, January 15, 1939.) But the Chinese also remember well that, despite their repeated cries and demands for "No Help to Japan," and "America Alone Can Halt Japanese Aggression," etc. Uncle Sam did not move until the Pearl Harbor tragedy when he himself was attacked by the same foe.

Lastly, there is no doubt that there is a leakage in the "Reservoir of Good Will" toward the American people. This leakage does not occur in China alone. "Revisiting Belgium two and a half years later, I found this precious capital of good will toward the United States greatly reduced. In France and Italy, too, I had the impression that this country was far from enjoying the sympathy my earlier experience had led me to anticipate." (See "Good Will—Our Investment in Europe" by Felix Oppenheim in *Current History*, March, 1948, p. 141.)

Here is a problem which should be giving the American people a great deal of food for thought.

Understanding China

In writing this, I am not acting as an apologist or as a defense attorney for the Chinese students. As a nonpartisan, an observer and a student of current events, I am merely interpreting those events, stating some plain facts on what is going in China today and offering a few suggestions for the consideration of my people. To be brief, some of these plain facts are as follows:

(1) The recent student demonstrations are not anti-British or anti-American. Behind all this unrest there may be some Communists, but infinitely more important is the tragic fact that for years the masses in the country have been suffering from poverty, hunger and neglect. In China, we have a situation which may explode at any time unless steps are taken before it is too late.

(2) To regard the recent demonstrations as "Communist Agitation" is not altogether right. To accuse the Chinese students of being "misled by the sinister propaganda of another tyranny" does not hold water. To characterize the present movement by the sweeping statement of "Anti-Americanism" is to go quite far from the truth. Behind these demonstrations and protests is the basic clash between the liberals and the conservatives, and that is happening in many other parts of the world as well.

(3) Such demonstrations cannot be suppressed by force alone, by imprisoning students through the "Special Criminal Courts," and by a "Divide and Rule Policy." The demand for *change*, for *reform* and for *new government* is a universal demand of millions of Chinese. Such legitimate aspirations of the people must be fulfilled before the unrest can be put down.

(4) There is no doubt that the Chinese leaders have missed another chance—an excellent one, I should say—when, by good statesmanship and farsighted, constructive leadership, they could have brightened the whole of China's political horizon with the inauguration of the first constitutional government after the convocation of the National Assembly. But the opportunity was allowed to pass which has apparently heightened the resentment of the people.

(5) The Chinese fear of the resurgence of a militarized Japan is not a "nameless fear." It is based partially on bitter past experience when our cries of "No Help to Japan" failed to take immediate effect. The American arming of Japan's aggression was a fact. That the American policy of "Polarization of the Rightists" is now in full operation is also a fact. The Chinese younger generation is certainly justified in voicing its objection. This is only a human instinct of

self-preservation, and there is certainly nothing strange about it.

No Anti-Stuart Strike

The suggestions which I have in mind are these:

(1) The students should now stop these demonstrations. Their movement has already aroused nation-wide and world-wide attention. They should now go back to preparing for their final examinations, and leave the matter to public judgment. Those who refuse to follow public opinion will certainly be condemned and ostracized by the whole nation.

As a humble advice to the students, I should urge them to always remain nonpartisan, having nothing to do with any political party, refusing most stubbornly to be utilized by any clique. China's hope of salvation lies, not in this, but in the coming, generation.

(2) I hope our people will also cease to attack and tease Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, the United States Ambassador to China, one of China's life long friends and a great educator. Don't write any more "Open Letters to Ambassador Stuart." Don't go on strike in protest of his message to us. That is more than silly. On the contrary, we must honor him as our Elder and our Uncle in accordance with Chinese custom. He is innocent. We must realize that he is now in a most difficult position.

There is no doubt that his sympathy is with the Chinese students. He is one of us who are not satisfied with the present states of affairs. He once pleaded for "Another Internal Revolution," did he not? But he is now in a different position. Being an ambassador, he has to take his orders from the State Department. The message which he issued was apparently on instructions from his Government. Let us accept his advice with gratitude, even though from our heart we may wish to pass on a word to the Ambassador. The word is this:

It is our humble opinion that Dr. Stuart might possibly render far greater service to the Chinese people and to the cause of Sino-American relations by reassuming his educational, rather than diplomatic, activities. Our aged Uncle, owing to the remarkable prestige which he enjoys in China, is, perhaps, the only man in this country who can still do something toward peace and unity in China after the departure of the Marshall Mission. He can do so by requesting in person, repeatedly and earnestly, of the Chinese leaders, that he be allowed to mediate between the two contending parties in China. If he does so, he can count on the assistance and response of hundreds and thousands of Chinese. Many Chinese certainly hope that our "Old Grand Man" will dedicate the rest of his life to the cause of educational development and peace in China, bringing the "Fifth Freedom"—"Freedom from Ignorance"—and internal solidarity to the Chinese. But as an ambassador he cannot do this.

(3) Lastly, I hope the American people will be very careful in casting their votes in the November election. They must elect "men who believe in their century" and "men who can serve their nation and time" for offices in the White House and in Congress. In this period of confusion and discontent and groping for peace, many nations are looking to Uncle Sam for leadership. China is one of them. If our Uncle is walking on the right track, the outlook for the world will be bright. If otherwise is the case, the whole world will be thrown into even worse confusion.

The American people have a constitutional machinery to bring about change without bloodshed. They must, therefore, lead the rest of the world, not to the "American Century," but to the "Century of the Common Man."

Tibet's Position Regarding China And India

Shenchi Liu

(This is the third and concluding article by Mr. Liu dealing with the position of Tibet. In this article the author discusses the relations between China, Tibet and India from the point of view of Tibet.—Editor)

NO settlement for the future of Tibet should be considered final that is not acceptable to the Tibetans. Yet just who is the Tibetan? Where is he and what is he like?

The Tibetan masses who constitute well above 90 percent of Tibet's total population are, of course, a political nonentity. Burdened down as they are by taxes and the myriad services they owe to the various strata of a feudalistic system, they are little better than chattels to the few feudal lords and ecclesiastic dignitaries who own them and can dispose of them at pleasure.

By this I do not mean that their lot is necessarily unhappier than that of the suppressed peoples elsewhere. Either because of the general backwardness and looseness of their economic structure and the consequent lack of any modern means of exploitation such as the factory system, or thanks to the saving grace of Buddhist teaching, the Tibetan people certainly do not know such forms of ruthless exploitation as are known among other peoples boasting of a higher standard of living. That is the reason why some Europeans still hear them singing so often.

Politically speaking, therefore, Tibet is represented only by the top class composed of around 100 noble families known as Kutsha and an ecclesiastic hierarchy of about equal size. This privileged class with their families, their subordinates and their subordinates' subordinates might most optimistically be estimated as composing only one-twentieth of the Tibetan population. And yet they are the Tibetans.

No Public Comments

In the complete absence of any means of public expression, it is hopeless to assess anything like public opinion even for this small privileged circle. To this, further difficulty is added by the fear of an autocratic rule which makes the wise keep mum over politics and the clever parrot whatever he thinks to be in favor of those in power. Foreign newsmen or travellers who are fortunate enough to get a few weeks admission to Lihasa, interviewing Tibetan political leaders between visits and sightseeings for the book they plan to write, inevitably run up against this wall of blankness. The fact is that no one in Tibet would care to risk his life and property just for the luxury of having his words quoted in a foreign paper.

However, in your private individual contacts with the Tibetan Kutsha and the religious dignitaries, of which there are always chances enough when you stay longer, you do come across something like a political consciousness and a few exceptional personalities who can talk very creditably about their political convictions. Such persons are not many. And yet if we agree that what one gleans from their arguments and admissions in these less guarded moments can in some way indicate the political trends of Tibet, then we find that they invariably fall within two schools of opinion, one for the maintenance of the status quo and the other opposing it.

Let us first examine what are the grounds of the status-quoists. They are generally in my opinion more outspoken and appear now to be firmly saddled in power. Indeed, it must be admitted, if it is possible for Tibet to remain like a silkworm in the cocoon that spins round itself, then the present position of Tibet both in regard to its relation to China and the rest of the world leaves nothing to be desired.

Now what sort of de facto relationship does Tibet bear to China? It is to all practical purposes one of independence. Tibet has its own currency and customs, its own telegraph and postal services. It has also its own civil service which is organized along a different line from that of any part of China and of which the personnel is appointed and dismissed by the Tibetans themselves without any supervision by the Chinese Central Government. And it even keeps its own army.

In point of policy, Tibet indeed often acts like more than an independent country. For the last two or three decades, for instance, the Tibetans have on their eastern border been boycotting the inland Chinese. And since retaliation is out of question for the Chinese Central Government, they enjoy all the privilege of a one way traffic. During the greater part of World War II, when China lost all her communications with the world and had to resort to the caravan supply from India via Tibet, the latter exacted a high price for all transhipments and consequently many Tibetans reaped a fortune out of it. And again when China then tried to send an America surveying squad to Tibet to prospect for a better air route to India than the existing one over the Hump, Tibet objected and the plan had to go by the board. A Chinese in Tibet today is treated little better than a foreigner; and the Resident Officer in Lhasa who is appointed by the Central Government enjoys a status not easily distinguished from that of the foreign representatives of England, Nepal and Bhutan. To a Tibetan Kutsha, therefore, there can be no reason why the present state of affairs should be altered.

Geographical Isolation

Secondly, many Tibetans still believe in Tibet's geographic inaccessibility. As far as China's communication with Tibet is concerned, this is almost a fact. This country amid the snow mountains, as the Tibetan bards love to call Tibet, is about 90 days' journey from any base of Chinese civilization worth mentioning and over a tract of difficult ground that is almost untraversable during a good part of the year. And this feeling of seclusion is often enhanced by a blissful ignorance of any modern means of communication, like the airplane. Some Tibetans tell you that the extraordinarily high and thin atmosphere of Tibet makes an air flight impossible; and many attribute to the omnipotence of Buddha the failure of any plane ever to penetrate into Tibet.

In regard to interior China then, some acute political observers see further cause for optimism in the continued existence of certain buffer-like provinces between the interior and Tibet. As they see central control in these provinces is far from stabilized, they are sure they can always count on a certain amount of check from these quarters to the Central Government's dealings with Tibet. Therefore, so long as these intermediate zones exist, the Central Government's doing them any real harm or good is just a remote possibility.

After this sense of security comes the national pride of Tibet—a pride of their once-glorious history and their present messianic mission. They remember when the Tibetans first came into contact with the Chinese, they were certainly in many respects the latter's equal. In their opinion, the long relationship between Tibet and the various dynasties of China has been mainly religious, such as exists between a monastery and its benefactor. Tibet, they argue, like the true land of Buddha receives material help from China in return for its service of spiritual ministration. From the viewpoint of religion, then, they regard China as a legitimate diocese of the Dalai Lama. What little political allegiance Tibet owed to China during former times has broken off with the removal of the Emperor and the founding of the Republic. To many, if not to all Tibetans, the idea of Tibet paying tribute to a popular government that might come and go at the will

of the common people, instead of to a son of Heaven who inherits a heavenly mandate, is almost unthinkable.

Suspicious of Motives

What is perhaps more important than any reason given above is the fact that there is always suspicion of or uncertainty about the ultimate motives of the Central Government in Tibet. It is understandable that to a class of such privileges and hereditary rights as the Tibetan Kutsha, there is something sinister in the principle of democracy itself which seems to aim at the destruction of all their interests. Their religion, their political and social institutions will all be uprooted if democracy is ever to prevail in Tibet. The passing in China of a dynasty, with its blue-bloods, titles, privileges, pomp and grandeur which a Tibetan noble loves as his inalienable birthright, is ever a cruel warning of what might be their lot when China steps back in. They wonder what will become of their estates, their subjects, their wealth and honor? And how will they ever be able to face the Tibetan masses who are wont now to bow down to the ground, sticking out their tongues, catching their breaths and trembling to do them respect?

Hence democracy to the Tibetan rulers is what communism appears to many in the modern world. I do not mean that all the Tibetan Kutsha are selfish tyrants and enemies of the people. As I have mentioned before, in Tibet the worst form of oppression or exploitation is not known. Nevertheless, it would be against human nature to expect them to resign themselves to an unknown and untried new order which, as they have seen in China and elsewhere, will deprive them one day of all which they love and cherish.

One more argument of the status-quoists should be mentioned here and that is their grievance against China's expansion into what they consider part of Tibet. The most ambitious claim of the Tibetans for an eastern boundary includes a good part of Yunnan, Szechuen and Tsinhai provinces; and even the most moderate one covers the whole or a great part of Sikang province. They think that the ethnological and religious affinity of the people inhabiting these regions to themselves is enough reason to bring them under the one jurisdiction of Tibet.

These are in the main the reasons for which the status-quoists are eager to keep Tibet as it is. And a kind of tacit understanding seems to exist between them and certain sympathizers in the British Government of India to form a united front against China to maintain the status quo. Whenever China proposed anything likely to affect this status quo, Tibet pleaded the excuse for not complying on the ground that it would have to grant similar demands to England. Similarly, England excused herself for not obliging on the ground of Tibet's non-compliance.

Of course, the course of this concerted action did not always run smooth. Whenever a Tibetan comes to reflect how far Tibet has shrunk during the last half century or so, he is not likely to forget Sikkim, Bhutan, Ladak and its vast southern boundary with India which has been subjected to ceaseless encroachment and remains today a pending issue. It is here the status-quoists are somewhat divided and give their opponents ground for accusing them of betraying Tibet.

Pitted against this party of status-quoists are scattered various groups of opposition generally disorganised, but united only in their dissatisfaction over the present state of affairs. Here we find individuals of some political enlightenment and many malcontents who are just eager for a change. I agree that many political differences in Tibet can be boiled down to personal enmity. However, though this personal factor should not be lost sight of in an appraisal of Tibetan politics, it would be unjust to deny that there are persons holding rather advanced political views and believing in some form of social and economic reforms.

Some Advanced Views

First of all, Tibetans who have travelled out of Tibet and benefited from it begin to question whether it is possible for Tibet to remain in permanent isolation or to be really independent. Situated as it is at the meeting ground of three Asiatic Powers like the U.S.S.R., India and China, the fate of Tibet is bound to be drawn like a small current into the mainstream of one of these great neighbors. This has been the case with Tibet for the last seven centuries, and also more recently with those many self-subsisting petty states in its neighborhood. If anything like a foreign threat should materialize, the little armed force of Tibet, which is no better than a stage army by modern standards, will be totally inadequate to defend its vast territory. The safety of Tibet, therefore, depends solely on other peoples' mercy or a lucky balance of power.

To talk of independence under such conditions is mere mockery. The best way out for Tibet then would be to seek some form of practical and honorable alliance or partnership with one of these neighbors who is truly willing to lend her power and prestige for the defense of Tibet. And many think the long politico-religious partnership with China stands Tibet in good stead. They remember how China saved Tibet from the Mongolian and the Gurkha's invasions in 1720 and 1788, and how China, even in her most difficult days of 1904 when she was no longer powerful enough to defend Tibet from invasion, paid England the war indemnity which relieved the Chumbi from British occupation.

China's prestige has been on the wane since the decline of the Manchu dynasty. Between 1917 and 1918, some fighting took place between Szechuenese troops and the Tibetan army. The Tibetans claimed several important victories and the event was publicised abroad by some sources as the "Sino-Tibetan War." However, with China playing an honorable role in World War II, Tibetans have formed a new respect for her might and prestige which they think should one day prove an asset to Tibet in case the ancient politico-religious partnership could be resumed.

Change Inevitable

Then what about Tibet's chance of remaining a hermit nation? In a world of shrinking space and expanding political unions, the days for Tibet's isolation is limited. What is becoming clearer everyday is that, despite the general inaccessibility of Tibet and its strict boycotting of new ideas and fashions, external influences seem to be infiltrating from every side and have launched both the patricians and plebeians on something like a movement for modernism. New and unorthodox modes and manners are being adopted in private living; and the word "fashion" seems to be gaining converts every day. Tibetans know it will not be long when even Tibet will have to reset its steps to the irresistible March of Time.

Enforcing this conviction of the inevitability of a changing Tibet is the growing discontent over the present drift of affairs. Despite the general ignorance of the mass held under the hypnotic influence of religion, dissatisfaction is lurking below and all around. From the far corners of Tibet, disconcerting news is trickling in about the desertion of whole villages by inhabitants who can no longer stand the oppression and privation they have been suffering and who are seeking a home outside of Tibet. Religion might help to hold down the people for some time yet, but not forever. Some social, economic and political reforms are urgently needed if Tibet is not to be engulfed one day in a tragic catastrophe. Nor are Tibetans much satisfied with Tibet's current role of something like an international peep-show box. They derive no more pleasure in performing those quaint rituals and pageants like puppets. And the applause of a few privileged foreign spectators no longer flatters them. They want some improvement, some reform to bring Tibet more up-to-date. This is, in brief, the stand of the oppositionists whose patience is running short with the status quo.

A few more remarks and we shall have done with the political alignments of present day Tibet. As already mentioned, the personal factor in Tibet always plays a more important role than anything else in its politics. Because of a long static social organization which stifles Tibet's economic growth and general productivity, competition is growing more acute than ever before among the small, exclusive ruling circle for the few lucrative offices and

sinecures which they crave in order to maintain their large and expensive households and retinues. A Tibetan aristocrat, secular or ecclesiastic, spends a thousand times more for his dresses, entertainment, servants and the luxurious requirements of his family and dependents than the standard of luxury required of him by his position and rank. He has to scrape whatever he can from the estates or revenues attached to his post or family. These sources are few and liable to change from one hand to another at the pleasure of the high authority. Hence competition is keen and breeds a lot of personal bitterness.

Rivalry exists between the laity and the clergymen and also among individuals within each group. While they come and go like so many riders on the merry-go-round of fortune, the limited and perhaps fast dwindling wealth of Tibet is distributed and redistributed in an endless shuffling of incumbency. Blocs and counter-blocs are formed around a few influential personalities near the acme of power and change sides freely as the political wind blows. This opportunistic tendency often upsets the line-ups as described above and may upset any prediction on Tibet's political weather.

Another phase of the personal factor is the all important role played by the supreme figure, the Dalai Lama, or during the time of his minority, the Regent, who is always a clergyman. Whatever the Dalai or the Regent thinks or does will go a long way toward determining the fate of Tibet. Since their words are final, their personalities as well as those who compose the select circle of their councillors and attendants will shape the future events of Tibet to a degree unimaginable elsewhere.

In the beginning of this year, for instance, an issue was joined between two factions led by the present Regent and the ex-Regent which caused no little excitement to the otherwise placid life of Lhasa. The faction led by the ex-Regent was accused of plotting against the present regime and of seeking the intervention in their favor of the Central Government. According to the announcement of the Tibetan authority, this request was denied. The event started first with the arrest of the ex-Regent who died later in imprisonment and ended with the surrender of the famous Sera Monastery which took up the former's cause. As the ex-Regent was generally considered pro-Chinese, the development of the incident was at first viewed with some alarm by both Chinese and Tibetans. This political episode brings to light something of the definite alignment of the opposing camps as referred to above.

However, the one point that we should never overlook about Tibet is that in spite of these personal differences, factional rivalries and political leanings, there remains one effective rallying point for the ruling class, both secular and religious, on which they stand firm and united without exception. That is the preservation of their self interest. Insofar as the defense and perpetuation of this class interest is concerned, they will fight like a solid unit against any threat either from within or from without.

Now how will this class interest of the aristocrats bear upon the future of the common masses of Tibet? Do they mutually exclude each other or can there be a way for their reconcilement? Sooner or later, the ruling class of Tibet will have to make a choice between two alternatives. Either they themselves take the initiative of introducing some social and economic reforms for the benefit of those whom they rule, and incidentally for themselves, or they will one day drive the Tibetan masses to extreme and ruthless radicalism. In case of the former, the process would be one of smooth general awakening for the whole of Tibet. And in case of the latter, the change would bring with it enough havoc to wipe out at one blow this whole piece of anachronism that is present day Tibet.

Development Of Physical Education In China

Hsieh Ching-an

(Special Correspondent, China Weekly Review)

UNKNOWN to a great many people, China, in addition to having an ancient tradition in the field of scholarly pursuits, promoted physical education much earlier than did the renowned Spartans.

In the early days of Chinese history, archery and chariot-driving were two of the six principal arts which a learned man was required to master in order to be considered worthy of social standing. Confucius once said, "Superior men have nothing to contend with except when they compete with one another in shooting bows and arrows."

The Anglo-Chinese College, a famous English school in Tientsin founded for Chinese boys by the London Missionary Society, had in its auditorium a photograph of three robust young men holding silver cups and trophies which they had won for taking first place in the high jump, pole vault and 400 meter race respectively at the Far Eastern Olympic Games held in Tokyo over thirty years ago. This accomplishment not only served as a stimulant to the development of modern physical education in China but also surprised the participating nations and the world at large and showed that Cathay had awakened from its long slumber of lassitude and languishment.

The mere fact that China had participated in the Games marked a dramatic change in the attitude of the conservative die-hards who vigorously opposed any innovation. Not long before the establishment of the Republic a high-ranking official had been invited to be the honorary head of athletics by the Anglo-Chinese College. He was horrified and highly indignant upon seeing a group of teen aged boys running around like hounds desperately chasing a hare. He lost his temper and took leave of his dumbfounded hosts, crying out that the foreign devils were barbaric and cruel because they made their pupils run and leap like wild beasts instead of teaching them to behave like grown-up scholars who pour over their books day and night. In his opinion, a schoolboy should conduct himself in the same manner as did his forefathers. That is, he should walk with a slow stoop and look more or less wan in order to show signs of exclusive devotion to studies.

This advocate of the diligent but unhealthy scholar failed to realize that in ancient times an accomplished scholar was one who was considered sound in mind and body—both literate and a warrior. In the course of time, the arts of boxing and fencing were developed and practiced together with other sports. For example, tug-of-war was one of the favorite pastimes in the days of the T'ang Empire, while during the Sung Dynasty football was commonly played. From time immemorial, the custom of holding boat races at the time of the Dragon Boat Festival has been observed throughout the country.

However, it is also a fact that the progress of physical education among the Chinese was checked by the despotic Manchu rulers for centuries until their downfall.

After the revolution the tide turned and reformation became the order of the day. Modern physical education was promoted with a vengeance while western sports and games were introduced and adopted by numerous schools throughout China. Football, basketball, baseball, volleyball, tennis, ping-pong, etc. became the vogue and were played by men and women as well as boys and girls. Students, irrespective of sex, participated in athletic meets at various places each year. Inter-province and nation-wide sports events took place from time to time for which large sums of money were spent in order

to build stadiums in many provinces throughout the nation. On several occasions, China's male and female representatives have made splendid records at the Far Eastern Olympic Games held almost triennially in Tokyo, Manila and Shanghai.

The climax was reached in 1936 when hundreds of athletes gathered in Nanking and a team was selected to represent China, for the first time in her history, in the World Olympics. Although the results of their achievements at this 11th Olympics held in Berlin left much to be desired, the fact that they completed their mission by participating was a step in the right direction.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, military drill replaced sports in secondary schools and universities. Therefore, it is now highly significant that athletes from all over the country have been gathered to represent China at the forthcoming Olympic Games to be held in London next month.

It should also serve as a means of strengthening friendly relations between China and Great Britain. For, not only will the members of the Chinese Olympic team fulfill their assignment of promoting this friendship through taking part in the sports events but they will also have an excellent opportunity to express China's sincere admiration to the British for their wonderful culture and titanic efforts to recover from the devastation brought about by the war. They will be able to inform their countrymen, upon their return, of what they have seen and learned while in England, and this exchange of ideas and feelings should be a most effective means of bringing about and cementing the solid friendship which is so vitally needed in our unstable world.

Finally, China's taking part in the Olympic Games shows that, despite chaos and hardship due to warfare and animosity among political parties and cliques, the Chinese common people are at heart united by brotherly love and harbor no grudge against one another nor against any other people. They have the ability to cooperate and stand together upon any question which affects the honor, prestige and reputation of their country and, in addition, are most ready to participate in functions which are international in scope.

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The Week's Business

REVIEWING developments of the past week (ending June 16) it would be any observer's duty to state that the general economic deterioration was almost amazing. Commodity prices increased rapidly. The rice price jumped to more than $10,000,000 per picul. Black exchange rates advanced drastically. The nation's economic structure was shaken.

In such a turmoil, the Premier's announcement that a currency reform is to be expected in the near future made no deep impression on business quarters. The latter, on the other hand, expressed the view that no reform can have lasting effects so long as "red tape administration of trade and finance continues to hamper all activities."

While from the table below, general price movements can be grasped, no Cost of Living Indices have been published for the first half of the month. As usual, and in spite of the rapid deterioration, the indices will be announced by the end of the month. Progressive businessmen and financiers, however, continue to doubt that this is the right way to handle a situation which may prove dangerous, not only from the economic, but also from the political point of view.

Meanwhile, premiums paid by importers for Exchange Surrender Certificates increased as follows:

June 3	**$350,000**	**average**
June 14	**$550,000**	,,
June 15	**$630,000**	,,
June 16	**$640,000**	,,

In other words, while the premium had been below the official exchange rate at the beginning of the month, it was above the rate by the middle of the month. Importers could agree to such high premiums simply because all commodity prices had gone up rapidly. In fact, in many cases it did not matter how much one paid for his foreign exchange (in national currency), as prices were bound to continue on their upward move anyhow.

The demand for "black" dollars, on the other hand, remained unchanged, as was to be expected. Nor, probably, did the supply decline. For, with black rates being far higher than all other rates, selling of drafts and private TT on the clandestine market again was more attractive, from the seller's point of view, than selling legally. Obviously, this also referred to all sorts of Overseas Chinese remittances which the Government had hoped to attract.

How fast prices went up during the week under review and how rapidly, therefore, grew the speed of money inflation can be understood from the fact that during the morning hours of June 15, rice went up by around $300,000, flour by ten percent, cotton yarns between nine percent and ten percent and cotton fabrics by about two million per piece. When such price advances are accomplished within a few hours, that reporter was right who stated that commodity prices have stopped going up daily but are now increasing from hour to hour.

Financial quarters here believed that the inflation now is almost out of control and that the chief reason was to be found in the new regulation which terminated the allotting of foreign exchange to importers at official rates and created the Certificate dollar. The same quarters opined that nothing short of a miracle (and sometimes there is something like an economic miracle), can save the national currency: A new currency or drastic currency reforms are bound to be established in the very near future. In other words, they expect the inflation of the present currency to find its terminal point. But again and again those quarters made it clear that, in the long run, no reforms and no new currency can help if the present control and restriction schemes prevail.

As is usual in periods like the one we are now going through, commodity prices occasionally also may decline for a day or two. In a few lines this happened here on Wednesday when profit-taking sales brought several prices down a little compared with the beginning of the week.

No observer, of course, was so blind as to consider such setbacks symptoms of a general improvement; as the money market on the last day of the week under review was a little less easy than the day before (it came up from 27 percent to 28 percent) holders of big stocks just needed cash.

Stock operators were about the only ones whose profits were extremely small during the whole week.

Quotations

Stock	June 9	June 16
	CNC$	CNC$
Wong On Textile	3,615	3,725
Mayar Silk	4,800	5,100
Commercial Press	900	985
Wing On Co.	780	860
Ewo Cotton	5,770,000	6,300,000
Bond C	340,000	610,000

Commodity	June 9	June 16
	CNC$	CNC$
Wheat Flour	2,530,000	3,310,000
White Rice, first	8,000,000	10,000,000
Peanut Oil	22,500,000	31,000,000
Raw Silk "C"	650,000,000	770,000,000
Jap. Rayon	522,000,000	572,000,000
Cot. Yn. (42)	442,000,000	500,000,000
Cot. Yn. (20)	262,000,000	298,000,000
Caustic Soda	215,000,000	245,000,000
Koo Pan Soap	9,100,000	17,000,000

US Magazine Roundup

Freedom And Union

IN the April 1948 issue of *Freedom and Union*, published by Federal Union, Inc. and edited by Clarence Streit, an Asian, Fusa, draws a parallel between the breakup of the British Empire in North America and in Southern Asia, and proposes that the four now Asiatic States—Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan—do not what the 13 did in 1789: Federate. In his article, "Federal Union of Southern Asia," Fusa first sketches the early difficulties and disagreements of the 13 American colonies just after recognition of their independence by Great Britain. But the new government was finally formed, and by 1791 all 13 were in the Union. "On the economic side," Fusa continues, "prosperity had already begun; and in the first 10 years the new Federal Union quadrupled the value of its foreign trade . . . How did it happen that none of the territorial disputes among the 13 States led to war? . . . The answer is that the great leaders—Washington . . Franklin . . . and many others—saw in time that disunion would cost them all they had sacrificed to win. They moved before sovereignty had time to harden in the 13 states, before war among them added passion to their problem . . .

"We of Southern Asia are now in a similar critical period. Can we profit from the American example? Can we Asians not turn to our mutual advantage—as the Americans did—the bonds of common sovereignty that our nations inherit from our period in the British Empire—before it is too late, before these ties have crumbled away?" Pointing out that since 1789 other peoples have tried the American Federal Union system—Canada and Switzerland, to name two—with success, he continues: "Everywhere this . . . system had worked to produce individual freedom, a higher standard of living for all the states in it. . . Already one of the new nations of Southern Asia, India, has organized itself as a Federal Union. Cannot all of us in Southern Asia unite now in a greater Union? . . . The difficulties that divided Pakistan and India, might not they become more soluble now in a Federal Convention in which Burma and Ceylon also participated? Might not the present conflict over Kashmir be happily ended . . . by admitting Kashmir as the fifth state in the Federal Union of Southern Asia?

"On the economic side, these free states of Southern Asia need each other even more than did the 13 American states. India and Pakistan both need Burma's rice, petroleum, non-ferrous metals and Ceylon's rubber and plumbago. Burma and Pakistan need India's cotton textiles, jute manufactures, steel, sugar, coal; India needs Pakistan's jute, cotton, wheat. Ceylon needs practically everything the other three can export, except tea and rubber. Can they not all hope to rise in riches through Federal Union, as have all the American states? . . .

"The constitution of the Union should provide joint organs for the defense, foreign, financial and economic policies, and every citizen should enjoy citizenship in all the countries of the union. The Union should also have power to act directly on all the citizens of the Union in those fields of government where the four agree to give it jurisdiction.

The author, Fusa, gives his reasons for thinking that now is the time to form the Union (countries concerned been under common sovereignty; rupee is currency common to all four; same social and economic problems; all are historically peaceful nations; they form compact geographical unit for defense; etc.)

"The goal is not utopian, it is practical. There is enough evidence to show that the main details can be worked out in six months or even less, if the statesmen of the four countries are willing to cooperate in a sincere effort to secure the permanent well-being of their peoples."

* * *

Business Week

"INDONESIA: Peace Brings Trade Rebirth" is the title of an article carried in the May 8, 1948, issue of *Business Week* magazine. It is pointed out that both the Dutch and the Indonesian republicans are hungry for American capital, and that the prospects for US investment in the area should be excellent provided the Dutch and the republicans can work out some political settlement that will lead to a cessation of hostilities. "Only a trickle of trade has seeped through the battle lines during the last two years. But with peace and US aid, Indonesia should boost its over-all exports to prewar levels by 1951. Exports of rubber and tin may even reach the prewar mark this year.

"But . . . stacked rifles in the islands don't mean that the Indonesian political volcano has burned out; the islands will rumble for many years to come. And before things finally settle down, many new political lines may be drawn. Indonesia may have rejected European tutelage entirely. Or it may be the prototype of a new form of Asiatic colonialism based on sincere East-West teamwork. . . Dutch and republicans now are playing political chess to decide how big a voice the Republic will have in the United States of Indonesia. The game centers around who will control the key areas that the Dutch plucked from the Republic last year. But no matter who wins this political skirmish, US business can't lose now that the real fighting is over.

"The US stands to gain most from imports of raw materials. Over-all exports from Indonesia are $350-million in 1948 (nearly three times the 1947 figure). The Dutch figure that exports from their Indonesian holdings will balance imports by 1951 at a level considerable higher than prewar. They plan to start repaying reconstruction credits the year after that. Broken down, the export picture looks this way: Rubber has made the best comeback. Exports are expected to reach 310,000 tons this year. . . Tin exports of 35,000 tons in 1948 will fall just short of the 1939 output. . . . Oil production is also creeping up fast. About 315-million tons are expected to be exported this year. . ."

Other products, it is shown, are lagging badly still, although in most cases they are up over last year. Such things as palm oil, copra, hard fiber, sugar and coffee are being produced and exported at only a small percentage of their prewar levels. The figures used to illustrate this are taken from Dutch claims, and it is pointed out that to them should be added some exports from the Indonesian Republic. "But for two reasons it is almost impossible to say just how much because (1) Many stockpiles in the Republic are claimed by the Dutch and added into their figures; and (2) Republican traders, trying to by-pass Dutch trade controls, smuggle most of their products through the Dutch Navy to Singapore. . . But the volume of US imports of Indonesian products is not so important as the fact that Indonesia is the only place in the world that supplies many products in big enough quantities."

Stating that there will be "plenty of business in the other direction too," the article continues: "The Dutch are now thinking in terms of a $500-million, long-range reconstruction program to be started soon. Only one country—the US—can supply the equipment (and the credits) for this program. Priority needs are for ships, mining and agricultural machinery, railroad equipment, oil extraction equipment, heavy and light motor vehicles, medical supplies, textiles. Before the war . . . the Dutch were cool to foreign investment . . . they prefered to finance developments on their own. Now they are poor, eager to get foreign capital to boost Indonesia's standard of living. . . The Republic of Indonesia is even more hungry for American capital. It hopes to use it to supplant Dutch investments." Of the post-war Dutch viewpoint, the article says: "They realize that in the long run Indonesia, like other colonial areas, will go not to the strong but to the wise—to the party which can bring orderly economic and political progress to the islands.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Wong's Statement Said Pointless; US To Strengthen United Nations

APPEARING before the Legislative Yuan on June 11 to present his policy statement, Premier Wong Wen-hao admitted the seriousness of the situation facing his government and stressed that its main task is the suppression of the Communist rebellion. He predicted the total defeat of the Communists in two years "if all factors developed satisfactorily."

The government's supreme objective for the present, according to the premier, is to increase the fighting strength of the armed forces by improving the treatment of officers and men and by strengthening the local self-defense corps. While efforts will be made to reduce the Government's ordinary budgetary expenditures, nothing will be spared to supply the fighting forces with enough weapons, ammunition and provisions.

The new premier disclosed that "just as the war against Japan was fought from bases in west China, the war against the Communists will be continued from south China until all northern regions are recovered."

In order to raise money for prosecuting the militay campaign, the government is going to collect new taxes, he disclosed. One of the plans now under consideration is for official registration of private property in anticipation of levyng capital tax, inheritance tax, and income tax on profit accruing from private property. He deplored that "one of our main curses is that the burdens of war fall more heavily on the people in the country than those living in large cities."

The premier also talked about promoting China's exports for the purpose of balancing China's foreign trade. He attached the greatest importance to American aid, pointing out that although the actual amount is small, its moral and practical effect is not to be underestimated, and that with assistance of this kind it will be possible to bolster China's productive capacity and restore the communications system.

* * *

Empty Talk

ACCORDING to press reports, this policy statement evoked a general wave of dissatisfaction among the legislators. Legislator Lai Lien charged that Wong's report was "full of propaganda" made only for the consumption of the legislators. He further said, "We heard smooth phrases, but failed to grasp their meaning."

Another legislator charged that the premier did not know what he was talking about, because he was speaking "in abstract terms instead of dealing with actual facts."

Legislator Wang Han-sheng complained Wong's report was "too empty and contains no policy at all." Another legislator bluntly branded the new government as a "bureaucratic cabinet."

One legislator wanted to know why the American-trained and American-equipped New First and New Sixth Armies have been unable to put up a good show in Manchuria.

Impatient at the strong attacks made by legislators, several ministers are reported to have indicated their intention to resign. According to well-informed political observers in the capital, the morale of the ministers was very low and Premier Wong felt constrained to give them a pep talk on June 13. A *UP* story stated that Wong's cabinet is likely to fall victim to clique politics inside the Kuomintang. One legislator predicted that the cabinet might not last more than three months at most. Hostility of the Legislative Yuan against him, as shown in the debate on his policy statement, was believed not to have sprung from policy defects, but clique jealousy.

The story further analyzed the Kuomintang members who constitute about 90 percent of the Legislature membership into the following groupings: (1) Reform Club, with about 150 members, all belonging to the CC Clique; (2) New Policy Club, consisting of about 80 members of the Youth Corps clique; and (3) Wutze Club, consisting of about 60 members of the Sun Fo Clique; (4) the rest are independents, who are known as Kuomintang progressive elements.

* * *

Dictatorship

GRADUALLY, some legislators turned their fury from Premier Wong to President Chiang Kai-shek. Legislator Liu Pu-tung charged that President Chiang has converted the Kuomintang from a "democratically organized party into a dictatorially controlled one." In an interview with the *United Press*, Liu disclosed that Kuomintang members are "growingly dissatisfied with the minority headed by Chiang Kai-shek, who is ruling the party," and that they may form a new party if their demands were not accepted by the Kuomintang.

According to Liu, the objectives of these members are "to overthrow the Political Science Clique in the Government and the CC Clique in the party and to carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles.

Liu said: "Factionism is the worst evil in the Kuomintang. Cliques converted the Kuomintang from a party of members into a minority party, and from a party for the implementation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles into a tool for achievement of the ends of a minority. . . . In 1929 when Chiang took over complete control of the party, democracy inside the party was replaced by dictatorship. Outwardly, party officials, including the Central Executive Committee, still were elected, but actually they were appointed. The party then lost its revolutionary spirit. Only the favored were given a place in the party's governing machine. Cliques began to be formed. Corruption began to flourish. One of the results is that all the land and houses in Nanking's residential areas are owned by party officials who before 1929 were as poor as rats."

* * *

Aid To Japan

OUTWARDLY, agitation among Chinese students and professors against United States policy of building up Japan seems to have cooled off a bit but actually the movement has taken on new aspects. United States Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart's public statement, from the political point of view, has done more harm than good. For one thing, it has hurt the sense of self-respect of Chinese intellectuals and damaged the personal popularity of the ambassador with Chinese students. It is of course too early to estimate the political significance of this movement. However, this much can be said: the movement is going to have a far-reaching effect on China's internal politics.

Protests against the US policy of building up Japan have not been limited to China alone. According to *UP*, Manila morning papers on June 12 levelled editorial sights at US policy in Japan and opened fire with a sharp criticism. The *Manila Times* opposed American efforts to put the Japanese on their feet, saying: "It would be poor business to sink billions in investment and then fail to protect that investment." The paper suggested that it might eventually be necessary, in order to protect this "investment," for Japan to have a "strong army, maybe a few warships to protect shipping and ports, possibly a few air groups to balance things—and maybe even in time, a small size atomic bomb."

Authoritative sources in Washington revealed that US government officials in recent weeks have become increasingly disturbed by protests in China and other countries against American plans to restore Japanese economy to a relatively high level. They feel that unless and until action is taken to counteract that

agitation it will strain United States relations with some erstwhile ally and make cooperation more difficult. It is revealed that Washington is planning an intensified propaganda campaign to try to explain just why the Japanese must be restored to economic self-efficiency. The explanation, it is disclosed, will be that this is necessary to insure the economic stability of the entire Far East. The Department also will attempt to ease fears of those who believe that a prosperous Japan will again become a threat to world peace.

* * *

Ready Retort

COMMENTING on the reported propaganda campaign by the United States to explain the current American policy in Japan, the *Manila Times* argued that nearly 1,000,000,000 people of Asia and the resources of East Asia are mostly outside of Japan "but the State Department would conscript the manpower of East Asia and the resources of East Asia for the benefit of a people which have nothing but strategic location and a lot of sentimental hooey.

The editorial continued to say that Fumimaro Konoye is dead "but his spirit lives in the State Department . . . It may be taken as a fact that the economic stability of the Far East would be better effected with more justice to the peoples concerned, if measures now projected to build up Japan were diverted to building up the vast regions which once fed Japan to its own incalculable damage."

Japanese political leaders are also very much disturbed in view of the rapidly growing misunderstanding in China as to Japan's plans. Ex-Premier Tetsu Katayama, Socialist leader, told General Chu Shih-ming that Japan is ready to send a "good-will mission" to China if such invitation is forthcoming from the Chinese Government.

Stressing that their meeting was one "of old friends with no political significance whatsoever" General Chu declared that Katayama held the opinion that the present moment should be a psychological moment for organization of such a mission in view of "growing misunderstanding about Japan's purposes in China." General Chu further assured Katayama that China has no intention to adopt a "tight on the neck policy" toward Japan. On the contrary, China is eager to bring about real understanding between the two nations.

* * *

UN's Role

IT has become more and more apparent that the United States favors strengthening the United Nations Organization as a tool for dealing with the Russians. The Senate on June 11 voted overwhelming approval of a resolution calling for a stronger United Nations and eventual American support of regional anti-aggression alliances within the world organization. It advised President Truman to make another try at curbing the big power use of the veto in the UN Security Council. The purely advisory measure is not binding on the Administration, but it has the blessings of the White House and the State Department and will probably be the basis for a new American drive to get more teeth and fewer vetoes into the United Nations.

Then President Truman openly challenged Soviet Russia to prove its desire for peace within the framework of the United Nations Organization, calling upon the latter to do something in Greece and Korea to stabilize the situation there.

Addressing the International Labor Organization in San Francisco, the President once more reiterated his belief in the final success of the UN and stressed that he was "optimistic that the United Nations charter will become the constitution of the world" and that "differences between countries can be settled just as the differences are settled between the states."

On the other hand, western powers are reported in the press to have agreed to bar Soviet military observers from the UN Palestine peace negotiations. It is said that the decision to rule Russia out of the Holy Land negotiations was not made without some worry and trepidation on the part of some UN diplomats. They were understood to feel that the western countries will be establishing a dangerous precedent in barring one of the great powers from what purports to be a collective UN peace-keeping mission.

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What US Papers Say

ANTI-AMERICAN Chinese student activities have been a source of much comment in the US press recently, most of the editorials approving Ambassador Stuart's public statement on the matter. The proposed cut in US foreign aid funds was severely criticized by many papers, while the press generally favored the recent agreement toward federalization of western Germany.

* * *

Student Activities

THE *New York Herald Tribune* called Ambassador Stuart's statement on student demonstrations a "sensible and timely" one. "It is known that the Ambassador has a real sympathy for college students in China," the paper said, "and it seems reasonable to presume that he feels as strongly as many others do about the mistreatment they have received from KMT officials, but the anti-American trend their agitation has been taking recently can be of no benefit to them or to their country. Its major results are to damage Sino-American relations and to aid the cause of the Chinese Reds.

"There is a further point that few observers except the communists find any reason for bitter attacks on basic American policies in Japan. The directives given Gen. MacArthur by Washington, designed to set the Japanese on the road to democratic government, were almost universally praised by believers in democracy. There is no question that the General has followed them with firm faith in their validity . . . and that whatever errors he has made have been administrative in character. It should be emphasized, too, that the current controversies among American officials over the program for Japan concern questions of degree rather than real changes in policy . . . They are questions that should be decided on a basis of careful economic survey and do not justify emotional agitation in China or elsewhere."

The *Christian Science Monitor*, commenting on the question, said: "Behind the demonstrations is a long-continued state of unrest, not specifically anti-American but strongly anti-KMT. While the communists have taken advantage of this unrest and have heaped fuel on it, it is by no means merely a communist show. It stems from sharpening dissatisfaction with the Nanking Government among liberals of all sorts."

The *Oakland* (California) *Tribune* observed: "We expect that the Chinese Government will agree with the statement presented by Ambassador Stuart, an old 'China hand,' about the student demonstrations against American policy. Government officials in the past have regretted these outbursts and attributed them to Communist agitators. This is probably true. The communists are plainly concerned over their cause in Japan. They would like to play on the natural fears of the Chinese people that Japan again may become a threat, which is the reason that the communists disseminate charges that the US is rebuilding the Japanese war machine."

The *Kalamazoo* (Michigan) *Gazette*: "Although the efforts of Chinese Government officials to blame communists for the anti-American demonstrations may not tell the whole story, there can be no doubt that the communist cause could gain in more ways than one by deterioration of relations between our country and China . . . Probably not all of those zealous Chinese who have been demonstrating against our policy in Japan are directly communist-inspired . . . surely we cannot blame the Chinese for worrying about the danger of future Japanese aggression, any more than we can blame the French for regarding suspiciously any plan . . . which they think may be of the slightest value in rebuilding Germany's war potential. But it is right that Ambassador Stuart should protest against unreasonable Chinese agitation which tends to jeopardize bonds of good will . . . and it is certainly right that he and all others in authority should give repeated assurances that our efforts in Japan are directed solely toward realistic economic objectives."

* * *

Foreign Aid Funds Cut

THE reduced foreign aid funds voted by the US House of Representatives evoked sharp protest in a large section of the US press. The following comments are typical:

The *Washington Star:* "In voting to support the . . . slash in funds for the ERP, the House has committed an act that is hardly less than sabotage . . . Unless the Senate undoes this folly . . . a key part of our foreign policy will be gravely shaken, and what began as a great and promising enterprise to rebuild the free world may easily deteriorate into little more than just another relief handout."

The *Des Moines Register:* "The House appropriations committee has flaunted its prerogatives . . . Despite the careful and detached studies of European needs by a non-partisan presidential committee; despite Senator Vandenburg's insistence that US$5,300,000,000 are needed for the next 12 months; despite ECA administrator Hoffman's warning that even that might not be enough —chairman Taber has felt called upon to show his power . . .

"There probably never has been a major US Government expenditure which has been so thorough and impartially studied in advance . . . At every step of the way, both administration and opposition leaders have scrutinized with exceptional diligence all proposals of the 16 countries of Europe, our own resources and capacity, and the practical financial problems involved. Here, if in no other case, the committee is justified in accepting the conclusions of others."

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German Agreement

THE agreement announced this week by the US, Britain, France and the Benelux countries looking toward a federalized government in western Germany, international control of the Ruhr's output and continued military safeguards in Germany, has drawn mostly favorable comment in US editorials. Many papers pointed out difficulties to be faced in carrying out the recommendations and a few called for an entirely different approach to the German problem.

The *Washington Post*, one of those calling for a different approach, maintained: "In Washington the accord is frankly described as an 'answer' to the Russian 'challenge' in Germany. What is needed, rather, is an answer to the European 'challenge'—in thinking and action on continental reconstruction."

The *New York Times:* "These proposals are primarily the result of Russian policy . . . In a larger sense they are also a recognition that a healthy Germany cannot be created without mobilizing the energies of the Germans for a constructive purpose. The fact that the six western governments were able to agree on these principles is the most encouraging aspect of the whole report."

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "Three years of experience have shown that there is little hope of building a democratic and productive Germany unless the Germans themselves are given a larger hand in the job . . . From the general outline of the agreement it seems that all the necessary precautions are being taken. Occupation is to continue until all are assured that Germany is not a potential military threat. . . The big argument against the plan is that it is destroying Germany's unity . . . It is distressing to find some Americans against the plan simply because they are afraid of such Russian propaganda. If such council were followed, the west would mark time indefinitely."

The *Wall Street Journal:* "How effective western efforts to afford Germany's hereditary enemies and victims security against renewed aggression, without at the same time giving the German people a sacred cause to breed another malignant nationalism, hangs upon a number of contingencies. Chief of these will be the solidarity of the six governments in the administration of the plan."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE influential *Ta Kung Pao* last week extended its outspoken criticism of the American policy in Japan to the American policy in Germany, in connection with the official communique on the six-power agreement which, when enforced, would give self-government to the Germans in the American, British and French zones of occupation. The anti-US movement and the formation of Premier Wong's new cabinet were also topics of editorial comment.

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German Self-Government

THE *Ta Kung Pao* pointed out that under the agreement in which the three Benelux countries also took part "there will be a free interflow of goods between the British, American and French occupation zones and exports on a large scale will be encouraged. But what is more important is that the production capacity of the Ruhr will be increased as far as possible, 'so as to meet the requirements of Continental Europe.'"

The paper also pointed out: "Another thing that is noteworthy is that, although France has signed the agreement, yet 'due to a certain amount of economic difficulty,' she does not plan to merge her occupation zone with the British and American zones in the near future. The atom bomb cannot force France, nor can the dollar entice her to change the policy of guarding against Germany which France has decided upon since the end of the war, and there is as yet no one in France who dares to abandon this policy altogether. Western Europe is still uneasy about Germany, and France, which is an immediate neighbor of Germany, is all the more reluctant to act rashly on an issue which has to do with the life and death and the safety and danger of the nation."

After accusing the United States of being inconsistent in her foreign policy—comparing Henry Morgenthau's proposal that "all the equipment in the Ruhr mining district be dismantled and removed and that the mines there be sealed up" and with the current US policy, the editorial claimed "the United States is doing her best to raise Germany's industrial level and to protect her overseas investments regardless of the Potsdam Declaration. As to reparations, these have been delayed again and again. Moreover, as early as May 1946, Gen. Clay (US commander in Germany) ceased to dismantle and remove the industrial equipment in Western Germany. From the amount of Marshall Plan aid allocated to Germany, we can see even more clearly how, habitually, the United States likes to accord good treatment to her enemies and bad treatment to her allies."

Without actually saying so, the *Ta Kung Pao* drew an analogy of the situations in Europe—where France voiced concern over possible German resurgence—and in the Far East—where a movement is underway to oppose America's aid to Japan. It added: "It is true that since the end of the war the United States has given France large quantities of supplies and large amounts of US currency, and the French people are not 'ungrateful' for this, but they are certainly unwilling to make concessions on their policy toward Germany in order to repay Uncle Sam's kindness...Although in international relations they (the French) have been trying to be friendly to both the East and the West, yet they have tenaciously adhered to their basic policy of guarding against Germany. Anyhow, their patriotic fervor and their political wisdom are worthy of our admiration."

The *Southeastern Daily News*, commenting on the same subject, took the attitude of "hoping for the best." It said: "All the Six Powers who signed the agreement should take up the responsibility of ensuring that the tragedy of World War II will not be re-enacted."

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Anti-US Movement

Chinese papers still devoted much editorial space to the anti-US movement directed at the American policy in Japan. The Catholic *Yih Shih Pao* stressed that most Chinese value highly the traditional friendship between the United States and China and urged that the US reconsider her China policy and "try to regain the friendship of the Chinese by giving more positive aid to China. A summary of the editorial follows:

"The intensity of the anti-US aid to Japan movement has precipitated an indignant statement by Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart. However, this statement has not only failed to reduce the intensity of the movement, but has, on the contrary, increased it. In their demonstrations during the past few days, the students at Peiping have shouted the slogans, Down with American imperialism, and We oppose US aid to Japan. We have pointed out in the past that the anti-US aid to Japan movement is not an anti-American movement, and that the current anti-US aid to Japan movement has not been brought about solely by professional students. We wish now to analyze the present psychology of the Chinese regarding the United States, and then discuss the question as to how the US should try to understand this problem.

"Here we wish to state frankly that as far as we know, the so-called anti-American sentiment" is quite widespread. The Chinese may be divided into two groups, leftists and rightists. The leftists, because they have allowed themselves to be confounded by communism and are friendly toward Soviet Russia, are inevitably anti-American. What is surprising is that at this time when the United States has already begun to assist the Government in stemming the spread of communism, those who have always been considered as rightists also entertain a certain amount of anti-American feeling. The current anti-US aid to Japan movement is an indication of this anti-American sentiment. Under these circumstances, it behooves the United States to examine herself carefully.

"So far as our understanding goes, this anti-American sentiment has been brought about, not by America's arrogance and her desire for hegemony, but rather to her inadequacy as a leader. So far as Sino-American relations are concerned, that they should be valued needs no explanation. However, the secret Yalta pact has caused China to lose Outer Mongolia and may also cause her to lose the Northeast. It has already caused the devastation of the whole of China. So far as economic aid is concerned, for two years there was only lip service and no actual aid came. The mediation by Marshall gave an opportunity to the Communist bandits to strengthen themselves. It was with much difficulty that a US$463,000,000 China aid bill was passed, but this sum has now been reduced by US$63,000,000. Moreover, it has been decided to extend the period over which this aid is to be spread. This has immediately caused a hike in commodity prices in this country. US foreign policy, particularly the US attitude toward China, has been indecisive and changeable, which has given people a sense of "undependability" and caused them to be depressed. Under these circumstances, it is only natural that they should have felt unhappy.

"That the anti-US aid to Japan movement has changed in nature to some extent is to be deeply regretted, but its pure motive and the reason why it has won the sympathy of the general public deserve to be carefully considered by the US. We are sure that the general public is not anti-American, but it is an undeniable fact that it entertains some ill feeling against the US. We value highly the traditional friendship between China and the US, but we hope that as a result of this unpleasant experience, the US will reconsider her China policy and will try to regain the friendship of the Chinese by giving more positive aid to China."

The Review's English Lesson—XXXVI

THIS week we shall devote most of the Lesson to writing replies to readers' questions. The answers are as follows:

Mr. C. S. Hu of Nanking—You wanted an explanation of the meanings of the four cartoons on the US Scene which appeared in the April 17th issue. The explanations follow:

(1) Entitled "Looming Large," means that Arabian oil is a vital factor in world issues today, particularly the Palestine problem.

(2) Entitled "On US Trade," means that the US opens its door for exports, but closes it on imports. The economic imbalance which results is a vital problem for the US, as you undoubtedly know and have read about.

(3) Entitled "A New High," means that domestic US prices are climbing inexhaustibly. (The figure labeled "Prices" looks untired by his climb and anxious to go higher up the figurative "mountain" of the national economy while the ordinary citizen and industry look exhausted from the ordeal.)

(4) Entitled "Anything for Votes," depicts the Republicans (the elephant) cutting away at protections against inflation (labeled "Anti-Inflation Prop") with an ax (labeled "Knutson Tax Bill"). The underlying idea is that high taxes help prevent inflation, but Congressman Knutson sponsored a bill which would cut income taxes and encourage inflation. Mr. Knutson is a Republican member of Congress.

Miss Kitty Tung of Tientsin—(1) The phrase "cheap prices" is entirely correct, although "low prices" is more commonly used. We disagree with your book on English which says that "cheap sales" is good English usage as it is redundant if used in the sense of a sale of goods at marked-down prices.

(2) The "Letters from the People" section is edited for errors before publication.

Mr. H. K. Man of Shanghai—You wanted to know if "exists" as used in the following paragraph is used correctly:

"I can only hope and trust that the good feeling and hope that exists in the Country and Empire now will prove a good example to other Nations in the world."

"Exists" is incorrect, because it should be in the plural, i.e., "exist" in order to agree with the subjects of the sentence, "good feeling" and "hope."

Mr. Hui Kin of Kwangtung — The answers to your questions are in the order in which we received them:

(1) "If you don't reform soon, I **will** be a captive and you will all be war criminals." "Will" is used rather than "shall" because it expresses determination. "Shall" merely indicates the future when used with "I" or "we." There is a grammatical rule that "will" expresses determination when used with "I" and "we", and "shall" expresses determination when used with "you," "it," "he," "she" and "they."

(2) A "holding" operation is one in which a position is maintained without retreat or progress.

(3) "Asiatic arch stone" means the country in Asia which holds the controlling position. The arch stone in a structure is the stone on which all the others are balanced.

(5) "Dreams of an expanded manifest destiny" means visions of increased imperial expansion. "Manifest destiny" is a term which was frequently used when Theodore Roosevelt was President of the US to describe American imperialism.

(6) A "take-it-or-leave-it" notice is one which the receiver, according to his own wishes, can take or leave unnoticed.

(7) "Wire-tapping" is an American slang word used to describe a spying method whereby the spy listens to telephone conversations by secretly breaking in on or "tapping" the telephone wires.

(8) "Turn thumbs down on" means to refuse.

(12) "To put teeth into" means to implement a measure so that it will be much stronger in its effects; to make more effective.

(14) "Sit pretty" means to be in a very good or advantageous position economically, politically, etc.

(20) "Stillwell's chips may fall on many people" is another way of using the expression "let the chips fall where they may" which means that no matter what the criticisms of a situation may be, allow them to be made.

(22) "Little men" are persons of small stature, figuratively speaking.

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The answers to last week's test are given below:

1. "behind the scenes"	1. in the background
2. "dummy corporations"	2. fictitious companies
3. "the turn of the century"	3. 1899-1900
4. "to give an edge"	4. to grant an advantage
5. "clear the air"	5. eliminate errors
6. "gag rule"	6. limit on debate
7. "to patch things up"	7. renew a friendship
8. "to peter out"	8. to gradually die
9. "pass the hat"	9. solicit money
10. "high-flown language"	10. flowery speech
11. "a 50-50 chance"	11. an even opportunity
12. "stop-gap aid"	12. interim assistance
13. "a slim chance"	13. a slight opportunity
14. "price fixing"	14. monopolistic selling

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